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# CHAUCER'S FIRST MILITARY SERVICE—A STUDY OF EDWARD THIRD'S INVASION OF FRANCE IN 1359-60

I

CHAUCER'S first military service, at the age of twenty or thereabouts, has special significance as his earliest entry into something like public life. The French invasion of 1359-60, in which the young poet to be then took part, was also one of unusual experiences. In this expedition, it will be remembered, he was taken prisoner, to be ransomed after some weeks by King Edward as we know from well-established record. The importance, therefore, of this first knightly adventure, or misadventure, in the life of the young Chaucer makes it worthy of a more extended notice than it has yet received. Besides, the bare facts which we have hitherto known have not been as fully illustrated as is possible from the historical materials of the time.

To understand the conditions of this episode in Chaucer's life we must bear in mind the extraordinary successes of Edward III in the early part of the Hundred Years' War. The mastery of the sea had been gained by the great naval victory of Sluys, June 24, 1340, probably the year of Chaucer's birth, and the scarcely less celebrated overthrow of the Spanish fleet off Winchelsea, August 29, 1350. The fortunate victory of Crécy had been won in August 1346, and the famous battle of Poitiers almost exactly a decade later, or in September 1356. In this splendid victory of the Black Prince King John of France had been captured and a truce for two years was arranged March 23, 1357. Two months later the captured king of France graced a Roman triumph in the streets of London.

The boy Chaucer, probably born in the year of the victory at Sluys, must certainly have remembered something of the great fight of Crécy. Surely, as he grew older, he would have heard how the English king had barely escaped at the perilous passage of the Somme, and how the overwhelming numbers of the French king had then been beaten by the military genius of the great Edward. Perhaps, also, in these early years the boy was fired with youthful ardor as he heard of the Ordinance of Normandy, newly discovered at Caen just before the battle of Crécy, and the terrible purpose of the French "to annihilate the English nation and language." At least Edward cleverly used that famous document to inspire hatred of its makers and incidentally enlarge his own armies. Nor is it unlikely that Chaucer would have heard the well-known story of the siege and fall of Calais when he was a boy of seven, and the saving of her haltered burgesses by the chivalry of Sir Walter Manny and the humanity of the queen.

When, just ten years later, Crécy was followed by Poitiers Chaucer, a youth of sixteen, was old enough to observe personally the preparations of Henry, duke of Lancaster, for the new invasion of France, and to follow the fortunes of the Black Prince as tidings were brought to England. Nor can there be reasonable doubt that the future poet, on a May morning of 1357, saw the captive King John of France, mounted on a finely caparisoned white charger, pass London bridge and make his slow way, through countless throngs, to Westminster palace some time after midday.<sup>2</sup> What London youth of spirit could have been absent from such a spectacle! Besides, that Chaucer was in London at this time is practically certain. Already in the service of Elizabeth, countess of Ulster, wife of Edward III's son Lionel, he was provided with clothes as a member

<sup>1</sup>Longman, Life and Times of Edward III, I, 246; Rolls of Parliament, II, 216-7. In the latter the purpose is expressed in the words "a destruire et anientier tote la nation et la lange Engleys." Edward ordered the Ordinance read to the London people by the archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Oeuvres de Froissart, ed. by Kervyn de Lettenhove, Chroniques, VI, 13. The day is uncertain, though Walsingham (Historia Anglicana, I, 283) says May 24, the date also given by Villani. Froissart's account gives no date but emphasizes the great preparations ordered by the English king, the gilds appearing in their regalia. Beside the French king rode the Black Prince on a little black hackney.

of the countess's household not only in April, but as late as May 20, 1357,<sup>8</sup> perhaps for this very occasion of King John's unwilling entrance to the capital of his conqueror.

Two years later, when the truce of Bordeaux was about to expire, it was extended first into April and then to June 24, in vain hopes of peace being made permanent. Even in January 1358, urged by Pope Innocent VI as mediator, preliminaries for such a peace were prepared, but were rejected at Paris. Though the States General met, the influence of Charles of Navarre, who himself wished to be king of France, prevented the acceptance of the terms proposed.4 A year later the English king, with slight regard for the helpless position of his royal captive, opened negotiations with King John himself. On the very day that the original truce would have expired, March 24, 1359, the captive monarch and the English king signed a treaty in London.<sup>5</sup> It was a shameless treaty for France. Though Edward renounced his claim to the French throne, he was to have most of northern France either directly or as suzerain. In addition 4,000,000 golden crowns were to be paid for King John's redemption, the princes of the blood being hostages for the ransom.

Such a treaty, dismembering their country as they felt, was abhorrent to the French people. A storm of indignation followed. The anger of the French showed itself in harsh treatment, even murder of English merchants in France and Flanders.<sup>6</sup> The States General, again assembled to consider these new conditions, preferred to endure their hard estate rather than lose so large a part of their country, even for the person of their king. Such an answer was therefore sent to England by the regent of France, Charles, duke of Normandy, and Edward on his part then resolved on war. "He would enter France with a most powerful army," he said, "and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> Life Records of Chaucer (Chaucer Soc.), II, 152.

<sup>\*</sup>At first there was much hope of a peace which might have altered the history of Europe for a century. Knighton records the rejoicing of the pope: "Interim redeunt nuncii de curia papae dicentes papam et totam curiam laetam fore de concordia et suum assensum praebuisse."—Chronicon, II, 103.

For the terms see Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, I, 286.

Knighton, Chronicon, II, 105.

remain there until there was an end of the war by an honorable and satisfactory peace."<sup>7</sup>

# II. EDWARD'S PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

Edward immediately set on foot extraordinary preparations for this new invasion of France. "He began making more splendid preparations than he had ever done before" are the words of Froissart. Nor was the enthusiasm less considerable among the people. The former victories were to be repeated or perhaps eclipsed. Men flocked to the standard with unparalleled enthusiasm. Froissart's description has been often quoted:

"Chacuns s'apareilla au mieux qu'il peut, et n'y demora nuls escuiers, ne chevaliers, ne homs d'onneur qui fust haitiés, de l'aage de entre xx ans à lx ans, en Engleterre, qui ne fuist honteux de demorer ou pays, . . . siques priès tout li conte, li baron, li chevalier et li escuier dou pays d'Engleterre vinrent à Douvres<sup>9</sup> à grant vollenté apriès leur seigneur, si richement montés et appareilliés qu'il peurent, excepté chiaux que li roys et ses conssaux avoient ordonné et estaubli pour garder ses castiaux et ses baliages, ses mairies, ses offisses et ses pors de mer." 10

Some idea of the magnitude of the preparations may be gained from their effect upon the continental peoples. Edward's military

Froissart, Chron., VI, 184: "Il entreroit si puissamment ou royaumme de Franche et y demourroit tant qu'il aroit fin de guerre ou bonne pès à son plaisir et à son honneur." In this part of the Chronicles Froissart is largely dependent upon Les vrayes chroniques of Jehan le Bel. For example, this account of Edward III's purpose in the war and the gathering of the forces is based upon chap. CIV of Le Bel (vol. II, p. 245, in ed. of Polain). The same chapter includes the account of the gathering of the continental auxiliaries, an account which Froissart follows almost word for word. On the other hand, for the whole campaign Froissart gives much more material than Le Bel. I have therefore followed the former, noting such differences of the latter as seemed important.

\*Chron., VI, 184: "Si fist commencier à faire le plus grant appareil que on euist oncques veu faire en celui pays pour guerrier." Cf. also VI, 202: "Vous avés bien chy-dessus oy compter quel appareil li roys englès faisoit pour venir en France, et estoit si grans et si gros que oncques devant, ne apriès, on ne vit le

pareil en Engleterre."

Thomas Gray's Scalacronica (p. 86), the continuator of Higden's Polychronicon (Appendix to vol. VIII, 409), and Walsingham (Hist. Anglicana, I, 287) say Sandwich some ten miles away, but the inconsistency is only apparent. Higden also says the gathering of the army was as early as August 15, the feast of the Assumption.

16 Chron., VI, 216-17.

genius was acknowledged in all Europe. One proof of this is the offer to him of the imperial crown soon after the battle of Crécy. Now the fame of his new project spread rapidly in foreign countries, and as a result soldiers of fortune and adventurous knights of many lands assembled at Calais. Froissart is again our informant that

"Pluiseurs baron et chevalier de l'empire d'Alemagne, qui aultrefois l'avoient servi, s'avancièrent grandement pour estre en celle armée, et se pourveirent bien estofféement de chevaus et de harnas, cescuns dou mieuls qu'il peut selonch son estat, et s'en vinrent, dou plus tost qu'il peurent, par les costières de Flandres, devers Calais."

Knighton adds to this that Sir Walter Manny of Hainault had brought with him from Germany, Hungary, and other places 1,500 well-armed men.<sup>12</sup> Thomas Gray also speaks in particular of the marquis of Meissen, with a great number of Germans who had come to aid the king.<sup>13</sup>

It was more natural that people of nearer countries should seek to follow the English king. With these neighbors on the continent England had most intimate relations. From Hainault Edward had married his queen. The Flemings and Brabanters were bound to the English by close commercial interests. From these countries, therefore, it was especially likely that many should offer themselves for the war, and what war always meant in those days, boundless opportunity for plunder and passion.

The eagerness with which foreign adventurers sought service under Edward may be judged from their haste to join the expedition. As already noted the truce of Bordeaux had been extended to the feast of St. John, or June 24.<sup>14</sup> It was not until August 12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Chron., VI, 203, the second redaction, but only slightly more explicit than the first.

<sup>10</sup> Chron., II, 105.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Scalacronica, p. 187: "Le markeis de Mise ove tout plein des Allemaunz qi illoeques estoint venuz en eide du dit roi." It is interesting to remember in this connection that in 1373 Friedrich, later margrave or marquis of Meissen, became betrothed to Anne of Bohemia, who finally married Richard II, Edward III's grandson.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Here may be noted another probable incident in Chaucer's life. On Sunday, May 19 of this year 1359, the young John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, married Blanche, daughter of Henry, duke of Lancaster. The marriage took place at Reading, but it seems impossible that Chaucer should not have been present in the retinue of the countess of Ulster. There, too, the young poet

that the king, in a letter to the archbishops of Canterbury and York, proclaimed the failure of peace negotiations, and asked for the prayers of the church for the success of the new war.<sup>15</sup> Yet so eager were the foreign adventurers to fight under Edward that by the first of August "tout chil seigneur alemant, missenaire, hasbegnon, braibenchon, haynuyer et flamencq, povres et riches" reached Calais to meet the English king.

So numerous were these soldiers of fortune that they soon became troublesome in the English-French city.<sup>17</sup> The trouble was partly due to the delay of Edward himself, and the consequent expense which these strangers were incurring. How serious affairs became is indicated by Knighton, in telling of the coming of Sir Walter Manny and his company:

"Venerunt ad Calesiam et cum introissent villam, tractaverunt villam ad suum placitum. Acceperunt hospitia et ejecerunt Anglos et quosdam occiderunt, et ultra mensuram multa magistralia exercuerunt." 18

The result was that about October first<sup>19</sup> it was necessary to send over to Calais Duke Henry of Lancaster to keep the adventurers in order.

The plan by which the duke of Lancaster brought peace to much

must have seen the three days of jousting celebrating the event. Even if Chaucer were not at Reading to see the marriage of the two who were to be the subject of his first poem which can be accurately dated, he surely saw the London tournament in honor of the marriage. That also lasted three days and there, according to tradition, the king himself, his four sons, and nineteen of the principal nobles of England, wearing the city's cognizance, held the field against all comers. So at any rate it proved when, to the joy of all London, the supposed mayor, sheriffs and aldermen revealed themselves as the sovereign and his company. This tradition is given in Armitage-Smith's John of Gaunt (p. 15), based on Barnes's History of Edward III.

<sup>15</sup> "Novit Deus," he says of the failure, "delusi fuimus inaniter et vexati."

Rymer's Fadera, VI, 134.

16 Froissart, Chron., VI, 203.

<sup>37</sup> Froissart, *Chron.*, VI, 204: "Se li rois d'Engleterre fust adont venus, ne arrivés à Calais, il ne se seuist où herbergier, ne ses gens, fors ou chastiel, car li corps de le ville estoit tous pris."

18 Chron., II, 105.

<sup>10</sup> Froissart, Chron., VI, 205, gives the date as "environ le feste Saint-Remy," that is Oct. 1. Higden (Continuation of Polychronicon) says "circa festum Sancti Michaelis," while Knighton (Chronicon) says "post festum Sancti Michaelis."

distressed Calais was simplicity itself. The adventurers from many lands had been attracted by no exalted motive. They had gathered for but one purpose, hope of plunder and the satisfaction of such baser passions as war in the middle ages made easily possible. Knowing this the duke of Lancaster offered them such opportunity as they had hoped for on a larger scale with the English king. He told them that he intended "making an excursion into France to see what he could find,"20 and he made it easy for them to pay the debts they had already contracted by lending each a sum of money. As a result there marched out of Calais with the duke "about one thousand men with armor, without counting the archers or footmen." The latter probably exceeded the men at arms several times, so that we may well believe Froissart's remaining bit of description: "They set out from Calais in a magnificent train."21 So numerous were the adventure loving soldiers of Europe who flocked to the standard of Edward in his invasion of France.

The duke of Lancaster led the foreign host by St. Omer, past Bethune, and came to Mont St. Eloy, a monastic foundation two leagues from Arras. There they remained four days "to refresh themselves." The character of their refreshment, doubtless typical of all their war making, appears from the next significant sentence of Froissart: "il euissent desrobet et gastet villes et villettes sans fermeté." Thus the duke of Lancaster accomplished a two-fold purpose, to satisfy his too troublesome foreign friends and injure France as much as possible. Thus, too, he continued through the month of October when, on November first, across the Somme from Cérisy, the duke learned that King Edward was already at Calais and wished his immediate presence.

Froissart makes no mention of any movement from England to France between that of the duke of Lancaster and that of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Froissart, Chron., VI, 205: "Il volloit chevauchier en Franche pour veoir qu'il y trouveroit."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Froissart, Chron., VI, 205: "Puis se partirent de Callais à grant noblèce, . . . et pooient bien estre mille armures de fier, sans les archiers et les gens de piet." The sec. red. reads "II" armeures," etc.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Chron., VI, 206. Froissart's first version, more favorable to France, emphasizes the hardships (maintes grandes mésaises) of the English because of lack of forage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Now Cérisy-Gailly, on the south side of the river and about half way from Bray-sur-Somme to Corbie. There they found bread and wine in abundance.

main army under Edward. Thomas Gray, however, says that Roger Mortimer, earl of March, passed the sea six days before the king, that is on October 23.<sup>24</sup> He also made a raid, as the duke of Lancaster had done, taking the coast road to Boulogne and, after burning Étaples at the mouth of the Canche, returned to Calais. This expedition helped to make secure to the English the country in the neighborhood of the English-French port.

# III. EDWARD'S ARMY AT CALAIS

The expedition of Edward had gathered at Dover or Sandwich between the middle of August and October. 25 Already there had been collected at that place 1,100 ships for the transportation of the army and stores. The king was attended by his four sons, Edward the Black Prince, prince of Wales, Lionel, earl of Ulster, John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, and Edmund, soon to be made earl of Cambridge.<sup>26</sup> With Lionel, too, must have been the young Chaucer who, for at least two years, had been attached to the household of the countess of Ulster. He must have been present, therefore, at the great gathering of the army near Dover when Edward proclaimed his purpose in the war, and passionately asserted that "he would die rather than not accomplish his object." He must have heard, too, the answering shouts of approval from the assembled host, and the cries of "God and Saint George" as the English embarked for the continent.27 It was a wonderful experience for a young man on the threshold of the twenties to be thrown into one of the great

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Scalacronica, p. 187: "Le count de la Marche, qi passe estoit la mere vj jours devaunt le dit roi, fist un chevauche outre Bologne, ardy Lestapels et repaira."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The Continuation of Higden's Polychronicon, VIII, 409: "Hoc anno, circa festum Assumptionis beatae Mariae, Edwardus rex Angliae et ejus primogenitus princeps Walliae, dux Lancastriae, et omnes fere proceres Angliae cum exercitu equitum et sagittariorum, congregatis circa mille curribus, apud portum de Sandwich aliquandiu sunt morati."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Froissart, Chron., VI, 219. Other chroniclers confirm Froissart. Le Bel says the king had with him "le prince de Galles et ses deux freres" (Chroniques, II, 254). Les grandes chroniques de France (chap. CXIX) say, "le prince de Galles, son ainsne fils, et autres de ses fils" while the Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (p. 100) enumerates "le prince de Galles, duc de Lenquastre, et les enfans du dit roy d'Angleterre." There was still one son, Thomas of Woodstock, then five years of age, to be left as nominal guardian of the kingdom.

Froissart, Chron., VI, 217.

international conflicts of the age, especially as he was surrounded by all the glamour of war for one connected with the court.

Edward reached Calais in the last week of October. According to Gray it was Monday,<sup>28</sup> which was the twenty-eighth of the month. According to Froissart it was "two days before the feast of All Saints," or October 30.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps the slight differences in the chroniclers merely cover the differences in time between the arrival of the king and the rest of the army, which would certainly not have crossed and disembarked in a single day.

King Edward remained but a few days in Calais,<sup>30</sup> "for he was desirous of marching after his cousin the duke of Lancaster," says Froissart. The language of the chronicler might have been much stronger. Even eight days could hardly have been more than sufficient for unloading the immense stores of baggage and equipment brought from England. The occasion for these extraordinary stores was the condition of the French kingdom:

"Si estoit le pays, de grant temps avoit, si apovris et si essilliés, et meismement il faisoit si chier temps parmi le royaulme de France et si grant famine y couroit, pour le cause de ce que on n'avoit iii ans en devant riens ahané sus le plat pays, que, se blés et avainnes ne leur venissent de Haynaut et de Cambresis, les gens morussent de faim en Artois, en Vermendois et en l'évesquiet de Laon et de Rains. Et pour ce que li rois d'Engleterre, ançois que il partesist de son pays, avoit oy parler de le famine et de le povreté de France, estoit-il ensi venus bien pourveus, et cascuns sires ossi selonch son estat."

The detail to which these preparations extended may be seen from another of Froissart's statements which reveal much and suggest so much more. In addition to all the usual equipment, there had been taken

<sup>&</sup>quot;toutes pourvéances pour l'ost et ostieus dont on n'avoit point

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Scalacronica, p. 187. The continuator of Higden says "about the feast of All Saints"; Walsingham (Hist. Angl., I, 287), October 27. The Eulogium Historiarum (III, 228) agrees with Gray. In chap. CV of the Chroniques (II, 254) Le Bel says Edward reached Calais "deux ou trois jours devant Toussains," but in chap. CVIII (II, 267) he puts it "trois jours ou quatre."

<sup>&</sup>quot; Chron., VI, 217.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Froissart (Chron., VI, 219) makes it "four or five days" in the first version, "four" in the second; the Scalacronica (p. 187) says "eight days."

<sup>81</sup> Froissart, Chron., VI, 224-5, sec. red.

veu user en devant de mener avoeques gens d'armes, sicom moulins à le main, fours pour cuire et aultres coses pluiseurs nécessaires."<sup>32</sup> Such articles are even more fully enumerated in a later account:

"Vous devés savoir que li seigneur d'Engleterre et li riche homme menoient sus leur chars tentes, pavillons, forges, moullins et fours pour forgier fiers de chevaux et autre cose, pour mieure bled et pain quire, s'il trouvaissent les forges, les moullins et les fours brisiés . . . et avoient sus ces kars pluisseurs nacelles et batelès fais si soutielment de quir boulit, que troy homme se pooient bien dedens aidier et nagier parmy un escault on un vivier, con grant qu'il fuist, et celi peschier et laissier hors, si lor plaisoit." 33

Nor were the lordly pleasures forgotten. In addition to this abundant preparation for war,

"li roys avoit bien pour lui xxx fauconniers à cheval, chargiés d'oisiaux, et bien lx couples de fors kiens et otant de lévriers, dont il alloit chacun jour ou en cache ou en rivière, enssi qu'il li plaisoit. Et si y avoit pluisseurs des seigneurs et des rices hommes qui avoient lors chiens et lors oisiaux ossi bien comme li roys." 34

When Edward did move out from Calais on Monday morning, November 4, it was "with the largest army and the best appointed train of baggage-wagons that had ever quitted England." Even Henry of Lancaster, returning from his preliminary raid, and meeting the king four leagues from Calais, was surprised at the host. There was

"si grant multitude de gens d'armes que tous li pays en estoit couvers, et si richement armés et parés que c'estoit merveilles et grans déduis à regarder lors armes luisans, lors bannières ventellans, lors conrois parordenés."<sup>36</sup>

83 Chron., VI, 256.

<sup>34</sup> Froissart, Chron., VI, 256-7. Edward III's extreme fondness for hunting is well known. An historic instance occurred when the captive King John of France was being brought to London. Edward was hunting when the royal prisoner passed by and, with "boorish bonhomie" as Longman says (Life and Times of Edward III, I, 399, based on Villani, Cronica, III, 295), invited him to enjoy the same sport, he himself continuing when King John declined. Besides, one of Chaucer's most spirited pictures of the Book of the Duchess (Il. 348f.) concerns the hunting of the "emperor Octovien," certainly intended for Edward III as Professor Skeat has pointed out in his note to the passage.

Froissart, Chron., VI, 220.

<sup>33</sup> Chron., VI, 223, sec. red.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Froissart, Chron., VI, 210. As illustrating the closeness with which Froissart follows Le Bel I may quote the latter's words at this point (chap. CIV, II,

Perhaps at this time Chaucer first saw the sight which suggested the description of Duke Theseus's army in the *Knight's Tale* (ll. 117-19):

"The rede statue of Mars, with spere and targe, So shyneth in his whyte baner large, That alle the feeldes gliteren up and doun."

At least, though Chaucer may have seen more than one army in the splendor of its entrance upon a great expedition, he was never again to see such extensive preparations as had been made at this time. Indeed, there was to be a decided falling away in the fortunes of Edward III after this campaign of 1359. No great victory like Sluys or Crécy or Poitiers was to be won by the English until, more than half a century after, Henry V fought the French at Agincourt.

Edward's army moved from Calais in three great divisions. These were in addition to the vanguard of "five hundred knights, well armed, and a thousand archers," under the command of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, whom Edward appointed his constable as he left the city.<sup>37</sup> The three divisions of the main army were commanded by the duke of Lancaster, after he had rejoined the army, Edward the Black Prince, and the king himself.<sup>38</sup>

The size of Edward's army is variously estimated by the chroniclers. Matteo Villani, the Italian, places it at 100,000 including the 21,500 under the duke of Lancaster.<sup>39</sup> Froissart is much more conservative in this case and doubtless nearer the truth. He says the king's battalion, or division, was "composed of three thousand men at arms and five thousand archers."<sup>40</sup> The division of the prince of Wales "was composed of twenty-five hundred men at arms most excellently mounted and richly dressed." He fails to

249): "si grande compaignie que toute la terre estoit couverte de gens; et estoit grand plaisir de regarder le noblesse, armes reluire, banieres voler, clarins et trompettes sonner."

<sup>37</sup> Froissart, Chron., VI, 220; compare also VI, 253: "ses connestables . . . qui toudis avoit le première bataille (li contes de la Marche)." The earl of March, whom Gray calls "le plus secre du dit roy," died of fever at Guillon, Feb. 24, 1360, during the march on Paris (Scalacronica, p. 187).

<sup>38</sup> Le Bel says (Chron., II, 255): "le prince de Galles et le conte de Richemont son frere, qui nouvellement estoit marie a le fille dou duc de Lencastre."

Der Chronica, bk. IX, chap. 53.

<sup>40</sup> Chron., VI, 220. So also next two quotations.

mention the archers, though their presence is proved by the next sentence: "Both the men at arms and the archers marched in close order." Fortunately Le Bel says "four thousand archers and as many foot-soldiers," in addition to the men at arms. Nor does Froissart give the number of men commanded by the duke of Lancaster, but it may be assumed to have been something like as many as under the prince of Wales. If, now, there were as many foot-soldiers as archers in the king's division, the whole army would have included about thirty thousand fighting men, besides laborers and camp followers. Even this was a large army for the time, especially large considering the fighting condition of the French kingdom. <sup>42</sup>

Some confirmation of the great size of the army of Edward may be gained from the immense baggage-train which extended, according to Froissart, "two leagues in length." This seems not unreasonable considering the known preparations of Edward. Yet when Froissart adds that "it consisted of upwards of five thousand carriages," we may suppose that there must be some exaggeration. Walsingham gives the number as "almost one thousand," a number much more in keeping with the army in other respects.

Not only was the invading army in orderly divisions, but it was also from its first advance prepared for battle at any moment. This "arrangement the foreign lords viewed with delight" when they met the English army on their return from their raid with the duke of

"Chron., II, 255: "quatre mille archiers et autant de brigans faisans l'arriere garde."

"Chron., VI, 220, following Le Bel (Chron., II, 255) "deux legues Franchoises."

The difficulty in computing the size of the army is naturally the extreme meagerness of information on the part of the chroniclers, or even their inexactness. It is Walsingham who tells most definitely that the king's division was the largest: "Et fortissimam [turmam] retinuit penes ipsum" (Hist. Angl., I, 287). Froissart implies the same in one or two places, as Chron., VI, 220 and 257. Mackinnon (History of Edward III, p. 455), without giving authority but doubtless with Le Bel in mind, reckons the prince's division as including 8,000 besides the men at arms, and the whole army as above.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Hist. Angl., I, 287. Froissart says "eight thousand" in Chron., VI, 256. In the latter place he adds of the "chars," "tous atellés de iiii fors cevaux qu'il avoient mis hors d'Engleterre." A little computation makes clear that the number of carts mentioned could not have been placed in the space indicated, to say nothing of room for movement.

Lancaster. They saw that the English "marched slowly in close order, as if they were about to engage in battle." Again in the next chapter Froissart repeats the same general fact with slight additions:

"toutes ces gens d'armes et cil arcier rengiet et sieret ensi due pour tantost combatre se mestier euist esté. En chevauçant ensi il ne laissassent mies un garçon derrière euls qu'il ne l'attendesissent, et ne pooient aler bonnement non plus que iii lièwes le jour."46

# IV. THE MARCH THROUGH FRANCE TO REIMS

When King Edward left Calais he advanced on the same route that the duke of Lancaster had taken a month before. Nor does this chronicler at any time imply that the great army did not march as one body to Reims itself. Other writers make clear, however, that the three divisions of Froissart were three columns taking different routes. Walsingham perhaps suggests this when he says that the army was divided into three divisions (turmae) on account of forage, since this might mean an arrangement in columns some distance apart so as not to interfere with each other in obtaining supplies. Fortunately Thomas Gray, who himself made the march, is still more explicit. Not only did the divisions take different routes, but he traces with considerable exactness those of the king and the prince of Wales, adding that the route of the duke of Lancaster was between the other two. 49

<sup>&</sup>quot;Froissart, Chron., VI, 211.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Chron., VI, 223, slightly altered from the first version though without essential change.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Froissart, Chron., VI, 219. Le Bel and the other French chroniclers are no more explicit with regard to the route of Edward.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Hist. Angl., I, 287: "Diviso exercitu suo in tres turmas propter victualia. unam turmam fortem Henrico Lancastriae duci commisit; Edwardo vero principi turmam aliam fortiorem; et fortissimam retinuit penes ipsum." Knighton (Chronicon, II, 106) gives the same testimony: "Et tunc supervenit rex Edwardus cum omnibus aliis magnatibus, et diviserunt se in tres turmas et acies, et abinvicem se dividentes singulae acies ceperunt iter suum."

So far as I have found Mackinnon is the only English writer who has mentioned these three columns of Edward's army, and he only in a footnote to p. 456 of his *History of Edward Third*.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Scalacronica, p. 187-8: "Les iij hostes alerent divers chemins. . . . Le duk de Lancastre tient le chemyn entre le roi et soun fitz." As a side light upon these divisions of Edward's army and the separate routes, it may be noted that

All divisions of the army followed the broad valley, or plain which begins on the northern coast of France between Calais and the mouth of the Somme. This open plain about forty miles wide extends southward, following the Somme to the neighborhood of St. Quentin, when it divides into two branches. The one bends eastward, following the valley of the Sambre. The other makes a half circle by Laon, Reims, Épernay, Sézannes to the valley of the Seine. It forms a broad highway into the heart of France, and now served the English king as it was to serve his son, John of Gaunt, in 1373.

The more exact route of Edward's division is a fairly definite one whether we follow Gray, or Froissart who mentions no other. Passing by St. Omer the king made a halt at Bethune, and next at the monastery of Mont St. Eloy, two leagues from Arras. Chaucer was not with this division of the invaders as we shall see later. Yet he was near enough to this monastery so that he may have learned for the first time the story of its patron saint. If so he was to this fact indebted for the oath which he later associated with two such different personages as the gentle prioress, and the carter in the *Friar's Tale*. At Mont St. Eloy, too, the duke of Lancaster and the troublesome foreign lords had halted four days "to refresh themselves," while in all his march through France the English king was to show special preference for the rich ecclesiastical houses. <sup>50</sup>

Passing by Arras, which was strongly fortified and held by the count de St. Pol, Edward proceeded almost directly south to the strong town of Bapaume in Artois. It is a temptation to tarry with the army in this region and hear from Froissart of the pleasant adventure which here befell the German knight, Sir Reginald de Boullant, and M. Galahaut de Ribemont; how the former, on a morning raid, met the latter on his way to the defense of Peronne; how Sir Reginald was cleverly deceived by the Frenchmen, who said

when John of Gaunt, in 1373, led an army through France to Bordeaux, an early "march to the sea," the two columns took different routes until they reached the valley of the Aisne. From Calais the eastern column marched by St. Omer, St. Pol and Arras, while the western took the course by Thérouanne, Hesdin and Corbie. Twice afterwards, also, the army separated into two columns for different routes. See the map in Armitage-Smith's John of Gaunt, p. 106.

<sup>56</sup> The voluminous work of Denifle, La désolation des églises, monastères, et hopitaux en France pendant la guerre de cents ans, shows what terrible losses were sustained by these religious houses of all kinds. For this campaign see

vol. II, 336f.

they were Germans and kept their visors down to prevent detection; how, in the fight which followed, the unsuspecting Sir Reginald lost most of his men, though M. Galahaut—with true poetic justice—also received a "furious stroke" from which he died soon after. I give a bare outline of what the chronicler tells with delightful detail through most of his chapter, before he too says, "We will now return to the king of England." <sup>51</sup>

From the region of Bapaume Edward made a long detour to the east, following the eastern arm of the plain already mentioned into Cambresis. There he made his headquarters at Beaumetz, slightly northeast of Bapaume toward Cambray and some twenty-five miles northwest of St. Quentin. The halt of the English was for four days "to refresh themselves and their horses,"52 and the refreshment was as usual at the expense of the people of the plains. They had felt themselves secure because they were a dependency of the Empire, and not a part of the French kingdom. They had therefore made no attempt to store their provisions in fortresses, and the English king found everything in abundance. When they saw the invader overrunning the greater part of their country, Bishop Peter of Cambray and the lords of the various towns sent to "inquire the cause of the war." Yet the only answer received from King Edward was that they had formed alliances with the French, and had aided them with provisions. "The Cambresians," as the chronicler says in dismissing the incident, "were therefore obliged to put up with their losses and grievances as well as they could."

This journey into Cambresis was far from the direct route to Reims. The inference is unavoidable that necessity already compelled the English king to consider the provisioning of his army. The raid of the duke of Lancaster had already devastated the valley of the Somme as far as Cérisy. Besides, the invasion of Edward being known in advance, the French had stored their provisions in fortified towns and garrisoned these as strongly as possible. Still further, as Froissart tells us,

<sup>&</sup>quot;Avoech tout ce li temps estoit si crus et si plouvieus que ce leur faisoit trop de meschief et à leurs chevaus; car priesque toutes

<sup>81</sup> Chron., VI, 225, sec. red.

to Froissart, Chron., VI, 231.

les nuis plouvoit-il à randon sans cesser, et tant pleut en ce wain que li vin de celle vendenge ne vallirent rien en celle saison."58

In spite of the great stores with which Edward's army set out there was now something like want. It was a case of the commissariat

determining the course of the army.

From Beaumetz Edward marched still further eastward into Thiérache, making his headquarters at the abbey of Femy (Fesmy), not far from Le Nouvion and near the borders of Hainault.<sup>54</sup> It was another well-chosen halting place, for at Femy also "they found great plenty of provisions for themselves and their horses." Yet the supplies of the abbey did not wholly suffice for the host of the English. As usual,

"Ses gens couroient par tout à destre et à senestre, et prendoient vivres et prisonniers là où il les pooient avoir."55

It was the fertile valley of the Oise where food and forage were in abundance.

Leaving the abbey of Femy Edward marched almost directly south toward Reims. Gray mentions the march through the districts of "Loignes" and Champagne, the first apparently in the region of Vervins and Aubenton, south and a little east of Femy. <sup>56</sup>

Froissart adds further that the English king crossed

"le rivière d'Oise et le rivière d'Esne sans contredit, les unes à gués et l'autre (l'Esne) passa-il au Pont-à-Vaire."57

The place at which the Aisne was crossed, now Pontavert, is in the

55 Chron., VI, 225, sec. red.

Froissart, Chronicles, as translated by Lord Berners (Tudor Trans., II, 44) and by Johnes (Book I, chap. CCVIII). This place is not mentioned in the text of de Lettenhove, although the second redaction mentions Thiérache (Tierasse), Chron., VI, 234. That Edward passed from Cambresis into Thiérache is also confirmed by Gray; see footnote 56 below.

88 Froissart, Chron., VI, 234, sec. red.

\*\*Scalacronica, p. 187. The whole route of the king is given as follows: "Le dit roy tient le chemyn de seint Thomers [St. Omer] pres de Arraz, et delee Cambresi, par Terrages [Thiérache], par Loignes, par Chaumpein, a devaunt de Reyns." Loignes I do not find, but places in the vicinity of Vervins and Aubenton have the prefix Logny, as Logny-les-Chaumont, Logny-les-Aubenton, and are doubtless in the region meant.

Thron., VI, 231. Froissart also includes the Somme among the rivers crossed, but this is impossible unless it be some small tributary near its very

source.

canton of Neufchatel, about twelve miles almost directly north of Reims. Meanwhile, more by accident than by design, the columns of the divided army had come together in Champagne some ten leagues from the city toward which they were all moving.<sup>58</sup> How this happened we shall best see from tracing the route of the Black Prince after leaving the king's forces not far from Calais.

The Black Prince, with his division, left the king's army early in the march from Calais, perhaps near the abbey of Licques. There Edward met the duke of Lancaster who, returning from his raid, took his place as commander of a division. It is more than likely that the columns separated about this time. With the prince's division, also, is our special interest, for with it rode the brothers of the Black Prince, and with Lionel, duke of Ulster, would be the young Chaucer. Fortunately we know the exact route of this division from the personal narrative of Thomas Gray, the Scalacronica already mentioned. According to this account the Black Prince first halted at Montreuil some thirty miles southwest of St. Omer. This, then, gave Chaucer his first sight of a place which he was again to visit at least twice, some twenty years later, on unsuccessful missions of peace and a marriage for Richard II with a princess of France. 1

From Montreuil the prince led his army in a southeasterly

<sup>58</sup> Knighton, Chronicon, II, 106: "Nesciebat una acies de caetero ubi altera devenit usque in diem Jovis ante festum sancti Andreae [Thursday, Nov. 28]. Quo casualiter duae acies transeuntes occurrerunt regi ad unam villulam ad x leucas de Reynes in Campania." It is naturally impossible to identify this village but it should be in the neighborhood of Clermont, if the distance from Reims can be relied upon.

<sup>50</sup> The matter is not one of conjecture. Froissart distinctly says (Chron., VI, 220): "Apriès venoit li forte bataille dou prinche de Galles et de ses frères." See also the quotations from other chroniclers in footnote 26.

That Gray actually made the march with the Black Prince is vouched for by the French Roll of Edward III under date of August 20, 1359, which reads: "Thomas de Grey, miles, qui in obsequium Regis in comitiva Edwardi, principis Wallie, ad partes transmarinas profecturus est." This is quoted by Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, II, 152, footnote.

<sup>et</sup> See the discussion in Skeat, Works of Chancer, I, xxviif. The first of these occasions was in the early part of 1377, when Richard was still the prince; the second in 1378 after he had assumed the crown. To these we may probably add a third visit to the same place even earlier, since Chaucer accompanied John of Gaunt in his expedition into France in 1369, and Gaunt's army also visited Montreuil. See Armitage-Smith's John of Gaunt, p. 72, and map facing p. 106.

course direct for Reims. His next important halt was at Hesdin, like Montreuil in the valley of the river Canche. Advancing further south through Picardy he crossed the Somme, perhaps not far from Amiens.<sup>62</sup> Then the army proceeded by Nesle and Ham in Vermandois, and around the bend of the river Somme toward St. Quentin. From the neighborhood of the latter place the Black Prince marched to the Oise, crossing it southeast of St. Quentin it would seem.<sup>63</sup> There Chaucer had his first sight of a river, the name of which was again remembered when, in writing a passage of the *House of Fame*, he wished a convenient rime for "noise." He was describing the volume of sound which issued from every opening of the temple of Fame and he adds,

"And ther-out com so greet a noise,
That, had hit [the temple] stonden upon Oise,
Men mighte hit han herde esely
To Rome, I trowe sikerly."

Besides, it may not be impossible that the figure which next came into Chaucer's mind was suggested by recollections of the military expedition with which he crossed this same river. In a second description of the "noise" Chaucer says:

"And the noyse which that I herde, For al the world right so hit ferde, As doth the routing of the stoon That from the engyn is laten goon."65

This would be the sound of the projectile from the mouth of the small cannon of Chaucer's time, a sound which he perhaps heard

The western column of John of Gaunt's army, ten years later, passed through Hesdin and crossed the Somme at Corbie, while the eastern column crossed at Bray-sur-Somme. Either would suit the route of the Black Prince, the first less than ten miles east of Amiens, the second about twenty miles away.

See the map mentioned in preceding footnote.

<sup>63</sup> Professor Skeat in his life of Chaucer (Works, I, xviii), following Froissart's account of Edward III's march, assumes too confidently that the army "must... have crossed the Oise somewhere near Chauny and La Fère." But, since Chaucer was with the Black Prince and his route was farther to the east, the crossing was more probably nearer Séry (now Séry-les-Mézières) or Ribemont, as shown by the later march of this division.

<sup>4</sup> House of Fame, 1. 1927f (Book III, 837f).

<sup>45</sup> House of Fame, 1. 1931f.

for the first time when with this expedition, certainly the first time in war itself.66

After crossing the Oise, according to Gray, the prince led his army by "Retieris," or Rhétel, which the enemy burned to delay the march of the English. The latter, however, gained a passage of the Aisne at Chateau-Porcien a little west of Rhétel. "Retieris," or Rhétel, is somewhat east of the natural route of the prince, but the exactness of the record seems to be fully confirmed by the mention of Chateau-Porcien less than ten miles away.<sup>67</sup>

The mention of "Retieris" by Gray is also one of the most suggestive bits of his narrative, because of its relation to the poet Chaucer. It will be remembered that in 1386 Chaucer was called as a witness in an heraldic suit between Richard, Lord Scrope, and Sir Robert Grosvenor. In his testimony the poet gave most valuable data for reckoning his age, that he was "forty years old and more," and that he had borne arms "twenty-seven years." The latter statement, sufficiently definite and impersonal to be relied upon, carries us back to 1359 and this first military expedition in which Chaucer was engaged. More important still, his testimony mentions the very place "Retters" of Gray's account. He tells us that he had seen Sir Richard and Sir Henry Scrope bearing the disputed arms "before the town of Retters, and so during the whole expedition until the said Geoffrey was taken [prisoner]."68

Such suggestion seems more likely if we remember how recent was the use of cannon by the English, the first time, it is said, at the battle of Crécy in 1346.

"Gray's account of the prince's route is as follows: "Le prince, le fitz du dit roi, tient le chemyn de Monstrol [Montreuil], de Hedyn, par Pountive et Pikardy, outre leau de Soumme par Neel [Nesle], par Haan [Ham] en Vermandas. . . . Le prince tient soun avaunt dit chemyn par Seint Quyntin et par Retieris, ou lez enemys meismes arderoint lour vile pur destourber lour passage; lez gentz de qi prince conquistrent passage au chastel Purcien, ou passa par Champain, et aprocha lost soun pier a devaunt de Reyns."—Scalacronica, pp. 187-8.

Life Records of Chaucer, p. 264f. Sir H. Nicolas, The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy, II, 405; Skeat's Works of Chaucer, I, xxxv. Sir H. Nicolas had assumed that Retters of Chaucer's testimony was Retters near Rennes in Brittany; see Skeat as above. This led Professor Lounsbury to point out (Studies in Chaucer, I, 56-57) that Retters in Brittany was some two hundred miles from the operations of Edward's army at this time, and quite impossible. In the Appendix to the same work (III, 452f) he suggested Rhétel, quoting

The language of Chaucer does not specify, it is true, that he was speaking of this particular appearance before Rhétel. As we shall see the region was later visited by the foraging bands of Edward's army. Yet there are several good reasons for believing that Chaucer had this very occasion in mind when, nearly thirty years after, he was testifying in the Scrope and Grosvenor suit. First, it was the poet's earliest sight of the town, the only one of which we have definite record. As shown by Gray, a demonstration was made against this place by the army to which Chaucer and, as I shall show, the above mentioned Scrope belonged. Again, the added expression in the testimony of Chaucer, "and so during the whole expedition," would seem to imply that the army was still on the march, that is had not yet reached its goal at Reims. Finally to these reasons we may add another important fact, amply supported by evidence and seemingly sufficient to clinch the argument.

From the testimony in the Scrope and Grosvenor trial we learn that both Sir Richard and Sir Henry Scrope, whom Chaucer testified to having seen "before the town of Retters," belonged to the retinue of the earl of Richmond, John of Gaunt. The latter, it Froissart's form of the name, as Reters, Retiers, Rethiers. To this we may now add Gray's use of the form Retieris under the more interesting circumstances of Chaucer's own visit to the place with the column of the Black Prince.

Nicolas is perhaps responsible for the oft-repeated statement that Chaucer was taken prisoner at Rhétel. In the Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy he makes the statement: "Lord Scrope [Henry] served as banneret in the retinue of John of Gaunt, then earl of Richmond, and was at Retters when Geoffrey Chaucer was taken prisoner by the French" (H, 114-15). "He [Chaucer] was, he says, made prisoner by the French near the town of Retters, during that expedition which terminated with the peace of Chartres in May, 1360" (II, 409).

Depositions to this effect were given by Sir Ralph Cheney (Nicolas, The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy, I, 77; II, 260); by Sir Gerard Grymston (I, 105; II, 292); Sir John Constable (I, 108; II, 296); Sir William Chauncy (I, 112; II, 304); John Rither, Esq. (I, 144; II, 351), and a number of others. I take as an example the deposition of Sir Gilbert Talbot (I, 174): "Mons. Gilbert Talbot del age de xl ans, armeez par xxv ans, . . . dist qil ad veu le dit Mons. Richard Lescrope estre armeez en mesme lez armez dazure ove en bend dor en le compaignie de Mons. de Lancastre, qestoit adount le count de Richemond, en le viage de Roy qe mort est devant Parys, et Mons. Henri Lescrope armeez en mesmes lez armez ove un label blanc." The "devant Parys," as is clear from other depositions, is used merely for the end of the whole campaign of 1359-60. Chaucer alone mentions "Retters." No less than three others of the Scrope family were also in the army of Edward, as Sir William Scrope in the retinue of the prince of Wales, and Sir Geoffrey who followed Henry, duke of Lancaster.

has already been shown from Froissart, was with the division of the prince of Wales in its march toward Reims. On the other hand, when the army of Edward settled down before the city the earl of Richmond, as we know on the best authority, was detached from the division of the Black Prince and, with the earl of Northampton, held St. Thierry. As there is no mention of the detachment of Earl Lionel, presumably he and Chaucer who served him remained with the division of the prince. In this case he would have been less likely to have seen Sir Richard and Sir Henry Scrope at all, and certainly not before Rhétel even if the latter had been visited in some later raid. It is practically certain, therefore, that in his testimony of 1386 Chaucer had in mind his first sight of Rhétel and the demonstration before it of the division of the Prince of Wales on his march to Reims.

Of the Black Prince's further march to Reims Gray gives no account except that "the people of the prince gained a passage [of the Aisne] at Chateau-Porcien, when he passed through Champagne and approached the army of his father in front of Reims."<sup>72</sup> Of the duke of Lancaster's column, also, Gray makes no further record than that it marched between the routes of the other two.<sup>73</sup> Yet one incident seems to be connected with this division of the army and gives a hint of one stage of Lancaster's journey. This is the capture of Baldwin d'Annequin, master of the crossbows of France and at this time governor of St. Quentin. Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, whom Gray calls a chieftain in the duke's division, while on a foraging expedition in the direction of St. Quentin accidentally came upon Mons. Baldwin and his company. An engagement took place and

"y eut grant hustin et pluiseurs reversés d'un lés et d'aultre. Finablement li Englès obtinrent le place, et fu pris li dis messires Bauduins et prisonniers à monsigneur Biertremieu de Bruwes à qui il l'avoit esté aultre fois de le bataille de Poitiers."<sup>74</sup>

It was a notable capture and both Froissart and Gray record it.

To See footnote 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>n</sup> See the account by Rogier and the testimony of Les grandes chroniques de France quoted in footnote 85.

<sup>&</sup>quot; See footnote 67.

<sup>&</sup>quot; See quotation in footnote 49.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Froissart, Chron., VI, 234; Gray, Scalacronica, p. 187.

One event in the march of Edward's three armies has still to be mentioned. According to Knighton, in the last days of November, the three columns had come together in Champagne, some ten leagues from Reims. Such a meeting, unintentional though it is said to have been, was by no means unlikely from the routes of the different divisions. The king had marched almost directly south from Thiérache. The Black Prince had moved southeast from St. Quentin, across the route of the king, and a meeting was inevitable. The duke of Lancaster, advancing between them, was forced to the common point at which the eastern and western armies came together. Where the meeting was we can but conjecture, yet Knighton's account would seem to place it before the crossing of the Aisne. The distance of the Aisne from Reims would scarcely have allowed such a meeting ten leagues from the latter city. The coming together of the forces was followed by a great council with the duke of Lancaster and the other leaders on St. Andrew's day (Nov. 29) and the day following,75 after which the three columns again separated on their journey to Reims. It was at this time, doubtless, that the Black Prince led his army against Rhétel in hope of plunder perhaps, while the king and the duke of Lancaster proceeded more directly toward Reims by different routes. This would explain Gray's statement of the Black Prince's "approaching the army of his father in front of Reims."76

As to the time of reaching Reims the chroniclers differ. The English writers name the thirteenth or eighteenth of December.<sup>77</sup> On the other hand Froissart says the twenty-ninth of November, St. Andrew's day.<sup>78</sup> The *Mémoires* of Rogier, who risked his life to carry messages to the duke of Normandy, regent of France, name

"Walsingham (Hist. Angl., I, 287) gives the first, "in feste sanctae Luciae." Knighton (Chronicon, II, 107) says "xviii die Decembris."

<sup>78</sup> As usual Froissart is following Le Bel, who says of the English king: "[il] demoura en celluy pays de la feste Saint-Andryeu jusques a cinq septmaines aprez Noel."—Chron., chap. CV, II, 255.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Knighton, Chronicon, II, p. 106: "Quo casualiter duae acies transeuntes occurrerunt regi ad unam villulam ad x leucas de Reynes in Campania, ubi rex tenuit unum magnum concilium cum duce Lancastriae et aliis magnatibus suis in vigilia sancti Andreae et die sequenti; et exinde ceperunt iter suum versus Reynes in tribus aciebus sicut prius fecerant, ita tamen quod singuli possent scire ubi essent."

<sup>78</sup> Footnote 67.

Wednesday the fourth of December. Perhaps all these differences may be reconciled by the confusion of the first approach of the vanguard with the complete investment of the city which doubtless took some days. Or perhaps Froissart, who gives the earlier date, has confused the early accidental meeting of the three armies with that about Reims itself.

At any rate, not far from the first of December, the English king reached the goal he had set for himself on leaving England. It was Edward's purpose to capture the city where French kings had been crowned for centuries, and there assume the crown of France which he claimed as his by right of inheritance. Then, as he seems to have thought, all would be easy in the further conquest of his continental possessions. But even at this time the prospects were none too bright. The unusually rainy season had been against him. His extensive provisions for supplying the army had been long since exhausted. The poverty stricken condition of the country made foraging extremely difficult. The policy of withdrawing into the fortified towns and refusing to fight made impossible any offensive operations except a regular siege. Above all the rains continued, followed by approaching winter, and the lot of the greatest military commander of the age was perplexing, if not dangerous.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>79</sup> "Le roy d'Angleterre arryva avec son armée devant le ville de Reims au commencement du mois de décembre, le mercredy iiii dudict mois de décembre, mil trois cens cincquante neuf."—Varin, Arch. admin. de la ville de Reims, III, 156, n. 1 (Mémoires de Rogier, fol. 109), quoted by Delachenal, Hist. de Charles V, II, 154.

<sup>36</sup> It is Froissart who emphasizes the difficulties of Edward's position. Speaking of the king and his chiefs about Reims, Froissart says (Chron., VI, 235): "Si n'avoient pas leurs aises, ne le temps à leur volunté; car il estoient là venu ou coer de l'ivier, environ le Saint-Andrieu, que il faisoit froit, lait et pluvieus, et estoient leur cheval mal logiet et mal livret, car li pays, ii ans ou iii en devant, avoit estet toutdis si guerryés que nuls n'avoit labouret les terres; pour quoi on n'avoit nuls fourages, blés, ne avainnes en garbes, ne en estrains, et convenoit les pluiseurs aler fourer x ou xii liewes loing."

Gray's brief account makes no mention of such difficulties. Knighton (Chronicon, II, 107) presents the matter far more favorably: "Et notandum quod in toto illo viagio non periit quisquam nostrorum nec damnum sustinuit praeter quod dominus Thomas de Morreus percussus est medio de una gunna."

#### V. EDWARD BEFORE REIMS

When Edward reached Reims he disposed his army in the villages round about, covering especially the main avenues of communication. His purpose was to block all entrance of provisions to the inhabitants, and trust to hunger to bring the city to submission. The king himself, as both English and French chronicles attest, took up his quarters at St. Basle beyond Reims. 81 St. Basle was a monastic house on the highest point of land in the neighborhood, the "montagne de Reims" just back of the little village of Verzy, some ten miles away on the road to Chalons. The monastery had been founded in the fifth century, says tradition, by Basolus who, coming to pray at the tomb of St. Remy, had here placed his hermitage.82 From this position Edward was now able to overlook the whole field of operations, while he could there also best protect his army from attack by the regent of France, the duke of Normandy. The prince of Wales, says Rogier, was stationed at Ville-domange about five miles southwest of Reims.83 It is about half-way between the road to Dormans on the west, and that leading almost directly south from Reims to Épernay. These two roads were thus guarded by the prince's division, while this arrangement also placed the king and three of his sons near each other.

Froissart gives no further account of the disposition of Edward's army. He merely says that, after the king and the prince of Wales, the duke of Lancaster "tenoit en apriès le plus grant logeis," and "li conte, li baron et li aultre chevalier logiet ens ès villages entour Rains." Rogier is more explicit and is confirmed by Les

<sup>81</sup> Froissart, Chron., VI, 234-5. Rogier, quoted by Varin, Archives administratives de la ville de Reims, III, 156-8, in Collection de documents inédits: "Le roy d'Angleterre . . . loga sa personne en l'abbaye de St. Basle."

<sup>80</sup> A life of St. Basle is in Migne (Patrologiae, vol. 137, p. 643), Vita Sancti Basoli Confessoris, Auctore Adsone, together with an account of his translation

by the same author.

\*\* Following Le Bel, Froissart says St. Thierry where, according to Rogier, was the earl of Richmond, John of Gaunt, with the earl of Northampton. On the other hand, when Froissart mentions that the prince and his brothers were together, we have confirmation of his previous statement that they belonged to the same division. Presumably, then, Lionel, earl of Ulster, remained with the prince, and with Lionel would be Chaucer also. Froissart's words are: "Li rois fist son logeis à Saint-Bale oultre Reims, et li princes de Galles et si frère à Saint-Thiéri."—Chron., VI, 234-5.

4 Chron., VI, 235.

grandes chroniques de France. The duke of Lancaster was at Brimont, on the road directly north from Reims and about eight miles away. Between him and the king, at Béthany and Cernay-les-Reims on either side of the road to Rhétel, were Roger Mortimer, earl of March and Edward's constable, with Sir John Beauchamps. Both villages are about five miles northeast and east of the besieged city. Story To the west of the duke of Lancaster's quarters, at St. Thierry, were the earls of Richmond and Northampton, guarding the road to Laon. Near by, slightly northwest of St. Thierry, was Villers-Franqueux also held by the English. On the Vesle, directly west of Villers-Franqueux and about twelve or fifteen miles northwest of Reims itself, was Courlandon in the direction of Soissons. This position prevented access to the besieged city from that side and completed the environment. So closely were the lines drawn that Rogier says no one could enter the city either on horse or foot. Se

Except for encircling the city in this way Edward made no attempt at a regular siege. This was partly because of the fortifications, which had been rendered doubly strong in the months since war had been in prospect. Efforts to fortify the city had begun as early as 1357 and had continued through the two following years.<sup>87</sup> In December, 1358, the neighboring castles had been put in a state of defense, or destroyed if they were likely to be dangerous to the

\*\*Rogier says: "Le roy d'Angleterre . . . loga pour sa personne en l'abbaye de St. Basle; le prince de Galles, son filz, estoit loge a Ville-demange; le conte de Richemont, et celuy de Norentonne a Sainct Thiery; le duc de Lenclastre a Brimont; le mareschal d'Angleterre et messire Jehan de Beauchamps a Bethany."—Varin, III, p. 156-8, a quotation for which I am indebted to Professor G. L. Burr, of Cornell University.

Les grandes chroniques (chap. CXIX) state the matter thus: "Et fu le roy d'Angleterre logie a Saint-Baale, a quatre lieues de Rains ou environ. Le prince de Galles, son ainsne fils, estoit logie a Ville-Dommange, a deux lieues de Rains; le conte de Richemont et celuy de Norentonne a St.-Thierri, a deux lieues de Rains; le duc de Lenclastre a Brimont, assez pres de Rains; le mareschal d'Angleterre et monseigneur Jehan de Biauchamps estoient a Bretigny [Bethany], a lieue de Rains."

\*\* Et chevauchoient les gens susdicte tous les jours environ la dicte ville en telle maniere que aucun n'y pouvoit entrer n'y a pied ne a cheval."—Varin, III, p. 156. Yet Rogier, or Rogier de Bourich, succeeded in carrying a message to the regent of France at Paris, and returning to Reims with an answer dated December 26.

" Denisse, Le désolation des églises, etc., II, 341f. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, II, 154f.

city in case of seizure by an attacking force. In February, 1359, the Benedictine abbey of St. Thierry had been leveled lest it should afford protection to the enemy, and the same was true of a number of other religious houses in the vicinity. On July 10 the regent of France had notified the governor, Gauchier de Chatillon, of the approaching invasion, and again on October 22 of the raid of the duke of Lancaster. Even at this time, however, the city was prepared for a long siege.

For these reasons, when Edward settled down before the sacred city, he found a very different state of affairs from what he had expected. The earlier successes of himself and the Black Prince had made them overconfident. Both expected to meet the enemy in the field and crush them as they had done at Crécy and Poitiers. Miscalculating, too, the preparations of the inhabitants of Reims, Edward hoped for a speedy surrender of the city without the losses an assault would entail. Perhaps the quiet with which the English were received was in itself deceptive. Knighton tells us that they took their places about the city in peace, no one offering resistance, and each lord feasting the others as if all had been in their native land.88

As there was no regular siege there was no attempt to prepare siege engines, to batter the walls, or to assault the city, unless possibly for a day or two at the very last. But there was still much for the besiegers to do. The army must be supplied with food, and forage was not easy to be had in the country round. The rains still continued incessant. The result was a necessary scouring of the country for miles, even leagues about. These foraging parties often met with the enemy, sometimes being victorious, sometimes meeting defeat. Such expeditions concern us especially from the probable relation of one of them to Chaucer himself. Fortunately Froissart, Gray, and Knighton are more explicit regarding some of the minor engagements than some of the larger operations. Perhaps these

Froissart, Chron., VI, 235: "Si estoient souvent rencontré des garnisons françoises, par quoi il y avoit hustins et meslées; une heure perdoient li Englès,

et l'aultre gaegnoient."

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> Chron., II, 107: "Xviij° die Decembris venit rex cum omnibus suis ad villam de Reynes et recipiebant se hospitio ex omni parte villae, et quieverunt pacifice nulli malum aut molestiam inferentes. Et fecerunt convivia unusquisque dominus cum alio acsi in proprio solo fuissent in Anglia."

were more often recounted by returning soldiers when the hardships of the campaign were forgotten or suppressed.

It is natural that these minor engagements should not be given in chronological order, and Froissart makes no attempt to do so. Gray is more definite as to the time of one or two, and Knighton gives dates for others. For example, Gray tells us that the successful attack upon "Attigny in Champagne" was "at the time of the coming of the king before Reims." Froissart gives the name of the captor as Eustace D'Auberchicourt. This daring leader and knightly lover of Isabelle de Juliers, countess of Kent, had been taken prisoner in an engagement on June 24, 1359, after the expiration of the truce. His friends had ransomed him, however, for 22,000 livres, and he again carried on an extremely profitable warfare by exacting ransom for the "towns, castles, vinyards and private houses" he captured. Attigny, which he now seized, is on the Aisne about ten miles east of Rhétel. In this place Sir Eustace

"avoit trouvet dedans grant fuisson de pourvéanches, et espécialement plus de vii cens pièches de vin, dont il en départi les ii quars et plus au roy et à tous les seigneurs, chacuns seloncq se qualité."92

Sir Eustace hoped to be made count of Champagne by Edward,<sup>93</sup> and he remained an unusually helpful ally in levying contributions upon the country during the slege of Reims.

Froissart also tells us that companies from the army overran the whole "county" of Rhétel, special mention being made of Warcq, Mézières, Donchery and Mouzon. These places are in the valley of the Meuse, from forty-five to fifty miles from Reims in a straight line and considerably farther by ordinary routes of travel. They show the distance traversed for forage and adventure by Edward's roving bands.<sup>94</sup>

<sup>\*\*</sup> Scalacronica, p. 188: "Autres routes estoient dez Englois, ascuns dez queux eschalleroint la vile de Attinye en Chaumpayn en le hour du venu du dit roi devaunt Reyns."

en Froissart, Chron., VI, 153, 163f, 189f.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Froissart, Chron., VI, 232. In the second redaction this plunder is magnified to "iiim tonniaus de vins," and it is sent "au roy d'Angleterre . . . et à ses enfans, dont il li sceurent grant gret."

<sup>68</sup> Froissart, Chron., VI, 169.

The passage in Le Bel (Chron., II, 256) reads: "En le conte de Rethes, jusques a Warck, a Mesieres, a Donchery, a Moison." This is the only mention

Another raid was made to the east and southeast of Reims by the duke of Lancaster, the earls of Richmond and March, and Sir John Chandos.95 It was the night of the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury (Dec. 29), as Knighton tells us, that they proceeded by forced marches toward Cernay-les-Dormoy. This Cernay is a small town something more than thirty miles directly east of Reims on the Dormois, a tributary of the Aisne. 96 It was strongly fortified with a double foss and a great wall full of towers. Its defenders were "ii bons chevaliers," one being "Guy de Caples."97 Both Froissart and Knighton give a detailed account of the attack, which the former says was "fortement et radement." According to the latter the English were seen as they approached in the early morning, a surprise failing, but they continued to advance. When they neared the walls the duke and the others dismounted to examine the moat. On being received with taunts and insults, they immediately crossed the fosses and with great labor ascended the walls. Finally, gaining these, they entered the town and put to death those of the inhabitants who did not escape, the latter dying in the water and marsh of the moat. The castle at once surrendered to the duke of Lancaster, and the town was given to the flames.

After burning Cernay on the last day of the year 1359, on the first day of the new year the duke and his company took their way to Autry, another town of Dormois on the Aisne three leagues northeast of Cernay and more strongly fortified. From this town, however, the villagers had already fled in fear and the English, of Rhétel in any of the chronicles, except the "Retieris" of Gray's Scalacronica.

This reference, too, is not to the village but the district of Rhétel which went by the same name. All the towns mentioned are at least twenty miles from Rhétel

he village.

<sup>86</sup> Gray says (Scalacronica, p. 188): "Hors de lost le roy, le duk de Lancastre, lez countis de Richemound et de la Marche." Knighton (Chron., II, 107) adds "dominus Johannes Chandos." Froissart (Chron., VI, 236) mentions "messires Jehans Camdos [Chandos], messires James d'Audelèe, li sires de Muchident et messires Richars de Pont-Chardon et leurs routtes." As we have seen the earl of Richmond was now no longer with the Black Prince, but at St. Thierry with the earl of Northampton (see p. 40). Nor is mention made of any immediate retainer of the Black Prince in this raid.

\*\*Following the part of the sentence quoted in the last note the Scalacronica adds that they "gaignerent dieus viles, marches enforcez, Otry [Autry] et Sernay

[Cernay], sure leau de Ayne et la marche de Lorrein."

Knighton, Chronicon, II, 107. Froissart, Chron., VI, 236.

turning back toward Reims, came to Manre some fifteen miles west of Autry. This place had also been forsaken by its inhabitants, but was burned by the raiders. Then they returned to Edward's army and, as they had come back safe and sound, Knighton devoutly adds "let God be praised." Perhaps the pious wish was colored by Knighton's evident partiality for the Lancastrian house.

If the English were successful in these raids, so fully given by Froissart, Knighton, and Gray, it was not always to be so. The first of these chroniclers gives at even greater length the failure of the "lord of Gommegnie" and his followers to the number of about three hundred, in their attempt to join Edward's army at Reims. This lord of Hainault had returned to Queen Philippa in England when Edward had reached Calais and banished all strangers from the city. Yet, desirous to advance himself, he recrossed to Calais with some Gascon and English squires, enlisted further followers in Hainault, and set out from Maubeuge for the besieging army. They passed into Thiérache, through Avesnes and Trélon to the village of Harcigny. There they stopped to refresh themselves. But de Gommegnie and six of his followers, not satisfied with what Harcigny afforded them for breakfast, rode out of the village and into an ambuscade which had been arranged with great secrecy by the lord of Roye and his men. They had been following de Gommegnie's company the preceding day and night, awaiting a favorable chance, which was now afforded them by the enemy himself. The fight was a short one, though told with all the realism and detail of Froissart at his best. Fighting valiantly at great disadvantage de Gommegnie and three of his squires were forced to yield. The others of the party were slain, all except the valets who, not waiting to see whether their masters were heroes, put spurs to their horses and saved themselves by flight.

Then the lord of Roye and his men galloped into the town of Harcigny, demanding the surrender of the remaining followers of de Gommegnie. Surprised and unarmed as they were, they were easily taken, except a small band which retreated to a fortified house surrounded by a moat, and thought to hold out until the English king could send succor. But the lord of Roye was not to be withstood. Threatening death if an assault were made neces-

sary, he succeeded in inducing surrender, and the prisoners were marched off to the castle of Coucy and other places. It was about Christmas, 1359, and when informed of it the king of England "was mightily enraged." <sup>98</sup>

Meanwhile the English gained a great success to the northeast of Reims. On Wednesday the twentieth of December, Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, with many from the followers of the Prince of Wales and the earl of Richmond, had made an attack on the village of Cormicy near which Sir Bartholomew had been stationed. The village is situated some ten miles from Reims on the road to Laon, and contained at this time a "very handsome castle belonging to the archbishop of Reims," defended by Sir Henry de Vaulx.99 Notwithstanding that the village was surrounded by a double foss and a good wall, it was taken by the English in a night attack. The castle still held out, however, and as this was impregnable to assault Sir Bartholomew set his men to undermining the tower, promising a handsome reward for quick results. Thus stimulated the miners worked night and day until on Monday, the sixth of January, the tower was no longer supported by solid foundations, but by props of wood ready to be burned.

At this point Knighton fails us in all but a single point. lord of Clermont, he tells us, now surrendered with the soldiers and burgesses, and by the eighth of January the tower had fallen and the city had been burnt to the ground. Fortunately this bald account is extended in Froissart by a narration of one of those chivalrous episodes which, sometimes at least, relieved the brutality of medieval war. When the mines were ready to be fired, Sir Bartholomew asked for a parley and demanded immediate surrender of the enemy. As Sir Henry laughed at the demand the good Sir Bartholomew, with true knightly courtesy, offered to explain the reason for his assurance of success. On Sir Henry's accepting safe conduct, he was shown the mine and the tower supported only by wooden props. This satisfied the French knight, who thanked Sir Bartholomew for his courtesy and surrendered at discretion. When the fires were lighted and the great tower came down with a crash. Sir Henry again thanked his English conqueror.

6 Froissart, Chron., VI, 239-242.

<sup>90</sup> Knighton, Chronicon, II, 108. Froissart, Chron., VI, 247f.

"car li Jaque-Bonhomme, qui jà resgnèrent en ce pays, s'il euissent enssi esté de nous au deseure que vous estiés orains, il ne nous euissent mies fait la cause pareille." 100

How long Edward remained before Reims we do not certainly know since the chroniclers differ among themselves. The Chronique des quatre premiers Valois says "during the winter." <sup>101</sup> Froissart gives the period as "bien le tierme de vii sepmainnes," <sup>102</sup> and Knighton agrees in this particular. <sup>103</sup> The Grandes chroniques de France call it "forty days." <sup>104</sup> At any rate the best testimony indicates that on January II, I360, Edward acknowledged the failure of his ambition to be crowned in the sacred city, and stole away in something of defeat and chagrin. It was Saturday night of St. Hilary's day. <sup>105</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Froissart, Chron., VI, 250. Gray (Scalacronica, p. 188) makes brief mention of the episode: "Hors de lost du dit prince fust la vile de Curmousse [Cormicy] eschale et le chastel gaigne, la toure rue a terre par myne par lez gentz du prince."

Under Bartholomew Burghersh the Dict. of Nat. Biog. refers to the "castle of Sourmussy in Gascony", the writer never having looked beyond the form in some corrupt text.

2011 "Et par toute la saison de l'hyver maintint le roy d'Angleterre le siege devant la cite de Rains."—Ouoted by Delachenal. Histoire de Charles V. II. 150.

<sup>208</sup> Froissart, Chron., VI, 253. <sup>208</sup> Knighton, Chronicon, II, 110.

<sup>366</sup> Grandes Chron., VI, 167: "Le dymanche xi jour de janvier, environ mienuit, le roy d'Angleterre et tout son host, apres ce que il et demoure en son siege devant Reims par xl jours, se desloga," etc.; quoted by Delachenal, Hist. de Charles V, II, 161.

walsingham (Hist. Angl., I, 287) refers to Edward's stay at Reims "ubi moram traxerunt usque in diem Sancti Hilarii." Most chroniclers do not mention an assault on the city. Froissart distinctly denies such procedure. He says (Chron., VI, 32): "Ossi, le siége durant, oncques li Englès n'aprochièrent pour assaillir, car li roys l'avoit enssi deffendu et ordonné parce qu'il ne volloit mies ses gens travillier, navrer, ne blechier." And again (Chron., VI, 253): "Ensi se tint li roys englès devant Reims bien le tierme de vii sepmainnes, mès oncques n'y fist assaillir, ne point, ne petit, car il euist perdu se painne." Le Bel has this general statement (Chron., chap. CVI, p. 257f): "Ne oncques ne volut consentir que nul s'aprochast de ville ne de fortresse pour assaillir, car il ne veoit par voulentiers ses gens perdure ne mettre leur corps en si evidente aventure."

On the other hand the Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (p. 105f.) mentions an assault lasting for a day. It tells how engines were prepared for battering the walls; how two attacks were made, one on the side of the Paris gate, and one on the opposite side; how the assault was in three divisions while a fourth was held in reserve; how the "battles" were led by the prince of

# VI. THE CAMPAIGN TO THE PEACE OF BRÉTIGNY

From Reims Edward led his army south to Chalons, Bar-sur-Aube, Troyes, Saint Florentin, Tonnerre, Montreal, and Guillon, the last of which he reached on Feb. 18, a little more than a month after leaving Reims. It was Ash-Wednesday and at Guillon the army remained until mid-lent, as Froissart says, or about March 15. There, also, Edward made his treaty with the duke of Burgundy, by which the latter bought immunity from English invasion for three years on payment of 200,000 florins. There, too, on March 1, 1360, the keeper of the wardrobe of the king's household paid for the ransom of Geoffrey Chaucer the sum of sixteen pounds, equal to about \$1,200 today. When or where Chaucer had been taken prisoner we do not know, but some light may be thrown on the subject by the circumstances of the campaign.

We have noted that in 1386 Chaucer testified to having seen Sir Richard and Sir Henry Scrope before the town of Rhétel, and we have shown that the army of the prince of Wales, with which Chaucer marched, threatened that town not long before reaching Reims. The remainder of Chaucer's testimony, that he saw the Scropes so armed "during all the expedition until he was taken

Wales, the duke of Lancaster, and the earl of Richmond with Sir Thomas Holland and "mons. d'Ansellee" [Annesley?]; how the assault began in the morning and how, when the prince's men had filled the moats with wood, it was burned by the defenders; how the king encouraged the English attack, and how it continued to the close of the day. So much detail would seem to indicate something of fact, yet Delachenal, Hist. de Charles V, II, 159) seems to discredit the account. In any case it is unnecessary for our purpose.

100 Chron., VI, 254. Six days later, "die sancti Mathei" as Knighton marks it, the French showed the one evidence of martial spirit in this campaign. They had gathered a fleet in Normandy and now attacked Winchelsea, committing various depredations though finally repulsed. The attack was well conceived in order to bring about the return of Edward to England. The movement was unsuccessful, however, the English rising with enthusiasm to protect their country. See Knighton, Chron., II, 109f., Walsingham, Hist. Angl., I, 288f.

107 Gray, Scalacronica, p. 189; Knighton, Chron., II, 110; Froissart, Chron.,

VI, 258. In a note De Lettenhove gives the date as Mar. 10.

<sup>160</sup> Life Records of Chaucer, II, 154. We must not forget the pleasantry of Dr. Furnivall, that the ransom of the poet did not quite reach the amount paid for Sir Robert de Clynton's war-horse. Ward (Life of Chaucer, English Men of Letters Series, p. 51) assumes that Chaucer's imprisonment lasted until the peace, but there is not the slightest reason for this conjecture.

prisoner,"<sup>109</sup> would certainly imply that his capture was some time after the appearance before Rhétel. As there is no evidence of any engagement before the English army reached Reims, the capture must have been after Dec. 4. It is equally unlikely that the event took place after the army left Reims on Jan. 11. The chroniclers make no mention of conflicts with the enemy on the march to Guillon, nor of special difficulties as to forage. The army was passing through a fairly rich country which had not before been overrun. The most natural, almost inevitable conclusion is that Chaucer was made a captive between Dec. 4, 1359, and Jan. 11, 1360.

The occasion for such a misadventure was also more likely to have occurred while the English were before Reims. The army was then inactive except for the necessities of forage. But such necessities were great and these, together with the spirit of adventure naturally fostered by the monotony of the siege, would have led to hazardous and sometimes unsuccessful expeditions. Indeed, it is during this time only that Froissart hints at losses to the English, 110 while from several chroniclers we know that in at least one of these expeditions for forage some belonging to the prince of Wales's division took part. 111 It is more than a matter of conjecture, therefore, that in some foraging raid while the army was besieging Reims, by accident or by reason of some unsuccessful deed of daring, the young Chaucer fell into the hands of the enemy. 112

Where Chaucer was kept a prisoner for the two months or two months and a half of his captivity, we have no means of knowing. Yet the courtesy accorded prisoners of rank or station, as shown by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Life Records, p. 265: "Par tout le dit viage tanqe le dit Geffrey estoit pris." See the discussion on p. 339.

<sup>310</sup> See p. 346 and footnote 89.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> See p. 347 f., especially p. 350.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> It is impossible not to associate with Chaucer in this whole campaign, and perhaps in this particular adventure, the description of the squire in the *Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*. He, also, at the same age, made a "chivachye"

<sup>&</sup>quot;In Flaundres, in Artois, and Picardye."

See note to line 86 in Mather's edition of *The Prologue*, etc., p. 5. Nor is it impossible that, like the squire, Chaucer was already a "lovyere," and had already looked with ardent eyes upon that Philippa "pantaria" who is joined with him in the earliest record of his life.—*Life Records*, p. 152, Household accounts of the countess of Ulster, April to December, 1357.

many a record of Froissart, would indicate that his captivity need not have been a hard one. Even the kings of France and Scotland while in Edward's power were given large liberty under parole. Moreover King John's return to his English captivity in 1363 is the best evidence that such parole was not usually forgotten by a gentleman.113 Chaucer, therefore, may easily have passed a not unpleasant sojourn with some wealthy French nobleman, and have been treated with courtesy and kindness because of his relation to the English royal house. Left largely to himself within the bounds of his parole we can scarcely think of the future poet as not interesting himself in books. Did he here, in the country of Machaut and Deschamps, each of whom was born not more than thirty miles from Reims,114 first learn to appreciate the poetry of the former,

<sup>218</sup> Such parole was broken, it will be remembered, by the duke of Anjou, son of King John and hostage for the payment of the latter's ransom. Fearing that the ransom might never be paid, he obtained permission to travel four days' distance from Calais, and then took what may be appropriately called "French" leave. Yet the estimation in which this dishonorable action was held is clear from the return of the French king himself to English captivity, a captivity from which he was released only by death.

The village of Machaut is slightly northeast of the city; Vertus, where Deschamps was born, directly south, a little southeast of Chalons. Far more interesting is it that both Machaut and Deschamps were in Reims during the siege. The first had long been a resident canon there; cf. the Introduction to his Works by E. Hoepffner, Société des anciens textes français, I, p. xxiii. According to the latter editor, too, Machaut was writing in this very year his Complainte à Henri, in which he mentions the troubles which had come upon him, and especially, as confirming the time, "dit on que li rois d'Angleterre vient li seurplus de ma substance querre."

That Deschamps was present in Reims at the time of the siege depends upon a passage in the Miroir de Mariage. Into that poem he incorporated an account of the whole campaign, said to be based upon the Grandes chroniques de France; cf. lines 11, 660f., and especially for Deschamps's presence in the city, ll. 11, 840f. See also the Vie de Deschamps by Gaston Raynaud in Oeuvres completes, XI, 12.

Thus, while Chaucer was to be a captive of the French, two French poets who most influenced him in later years were suffering hardship at the hands of Chaucer's king. Why may we not go one step further? Romance, if not history, would certainly bring the three more closely together under these unusual circumstances. At any rate, in his captivity Chaucer may well have met and read, among other works of that poet, Machaut's Dit du Lion written in 1342, and perhaps the basis for Chaucer's lost Book of the Lion as Tyrwhitt long ago suggested. More recently (Mod. Phil., VII, 465) Professor Kittredge has shown Chaucer's indebtedness in the Book of the Duchess to another of Machaut's works, Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne, written in 1346. This, therefore, and thus early gain some inspiration for his own? Even the conjecture has a certain fascination.

When Chaucer was ransomed, March 1, 1360, he must have joined the army of Edward and have followed it in the campaign against Paris. The English had marched into the heart of France, with no thought of keeping open any communication with their base in the modern fashion. Chaucer could scarcely have returned to England if he had wished, and must therefore have continued with the invading host until the peace of Brétigny. With this part of the campaign there is no need to deal at length since it had no special relation to the poet's life. Yet it must have been full of activity to him as to the whole army. Gray, who is here more explicit, gives many a detail of adventurous expeditions and of their varying results. It is he, for example, who tells us that, after the death of the earl of March, Edward's constable, the Black Prince led the vanguard, so that possibly Chaucer was with that division.<sup>115</sup>

From the ranks of the besiegers Chaucer saw the walls of Paris, probably for the only time in his life. He was there, too, when on the Monday after Easter, April 6, Edward challenged the city in three lines of battle, the duke of Lancaster and the earls of Northampton and Salisbury leading the first, King Edward the second, and the Black Prince the third. Later Chaucer marched with the army toward Brittany, though, as Edward did not reach that province, we need not assume that the poet then learned the Breton lay from which he later made the Franklin's Tale. With the

as well as its companion piece Le Jugement dou Roy dou Navarre, written in 1349, may have come to Chaucer's knowledge at this time.

Scalacronica, p. 193.

<sup>316</sup> Knighton, Chronicon, II, 111.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>247</sup> Edward had been compelled to march toward Brittany in order to secure provisions for the army. To the devastated condition of the country we have the unique testimony of Petrarch who, in the latter part of 1360, bore the congratulations of Galeazzo Visconti of Milan to King John of France on his return to Paris. I quote the translation of Hallam (Europe during the Middle Ages, p. 90): "I could not believe that this was the same kingdom which I had once seen so rich and flourishing. Nothing presented itself to my eyes but the fearful solitude, an extreme poverty, lands uncultivated, houses in ruins. Even the neighborhood of Paris manifested everywhere marks of destruction and conflagration. The streets are deserted; the roads overgrown with weeds; the whole is a vast solitude."—Mémoire de Pétrarque, III, 541.

army, too, he experienced the terrible storm of that Black Monday as the Chronicle of London calls it, when

"chéi dou chiel en l'ost le roy uns effondres, uns tempestes, ungs orraiges, uns esclistres, uns vens, ungs grésils si grans, si mervilleux et si oribles qu'il sambloit que li chiels deuist s'en partir, et li tierre ouvrir et tout engloutir; et chéoient les pierres si grandes et si grosses que elles tuoient hommes et chevaux, et n'y avoit si hardi qui ne fuist tous esbahis." 118

This terrible storm, the chroniclers tell us, more than the wise counsel of the duke of Lancaster, determined Edward to accept terms of peace. At any rate the army got no farther than the little village of Brétigny near Chartres, when it found its labors suddenly ended. Negotiations resulted in a truce for a year, during which a more permanent peace was concluded. The truce, or peace of Brétigny as it is called, was made May 8, 1360. It was later con-

reditu de civitate Parisiensi versus partes de Orlions in Bevosina, subito supervenit horribilis tempestas tonitrui fulguris deinde grandinis, et occidit gentes absque numero et plusquam vj millia equorum, ita quod cariagium exercitus defecit fere in toto, et oportuit necessario redire versus Angliam, sed Deus transtulit miseriam necessitatis in honorem regiae majestatis."

Chronicle of London (Nicolas), p. 64: "The same yere . . . the xiiii day of Aprill, thanne beynge the morwe after Ester day, Kyng Edward with hys oost lay aboughte Paris; which day was a foul derk day of mist and of hayl, and so bitter cold that manye men deyde for cold; wherfore unto this day manye men calen it the blake Moneday." Delachenal who quotes this rightly changes xiiii

to xiii, as the Monday after Easter was April 13 in 1360.

The Scalacronica (p. 193-4) puts the storm on Sunday, but gives the correct date, April 13: "Le dymange le xiij jour davrille, pur defaute de feur as cheveaux covenoit faire un tresgrandisme journe devers Beaux. Le temps estoit si tresmervaillous mauveis de plu, de greil, et de neggie, ove tiel freidour qe plusours feblis vadlets et cheveaux periroint mortz as chaumps, enlasserent plusours chariotis et somaille com en un fortune du pier temps de froid, vent, et de moil, qe en cel cesoun avoit este vieu de memoir." Can it be that Chaucer remembered this black Monday when, in the Miller's Tale, he made Nicholas predict (330-2):

"That now, a Monday next at quarter-night, Shal falle a reyn and that so wilde and wood, That half so greet was never Noes flood."

This Black Monday made a profound impression on England, and figures largely in the most important reference to this French campaign in English poetry of the period. See *Piers Plowman*, passus III, 1. 188f., and the note by Professor Skeat. The passage is found in the first form of the poem, supposed to be of the year 1362.

firmed at Paris by the duke of Normandy, regent of France, when he bound the oath with a gift to the prince of Wales of reliques from the holy cross, spines from the crown of thorns, and valuable jewels. The prince of Wales took the oath on the part of the English at the grand muster of Louviers, northwest of Paris, on May 15.<sup>119</sup> This accomplished, King Edward and his sons at once left for England, <sup>120</sup> arriving at Rye on May 18 and reaching London as soon as possible. <sup>121</sup> Without doubt, therefore, Chaucer also returned to England at this time.

One further fact is necessary to this account of the campaign of 1359-60 in its relation to Chaucer. The peace of Brétigny was rather a convention leading to a treaty. The treaty itself was worked out in detail at Calais. Meanwhile there was much to do in executing the preliminaries already agreed upon. To assist in carrying these out, in July the captive King John was allowed to go to Calais under escort, at least to Dover, of the duke of Lancaster and the prince of Wales. 122 In the latter part of August the prince of Wales, the duke of Lancaster and others passed over to Calais in

usual seriousness and nobility: "Le duk de Normande et regent de France, qe maladez estoit denpostym, le jura a Parys en presence de vaillaunz chevaleres Englois pur ceo y envoyes par queux le dit regent tramist au dit prince de Galis tresnoblis precious reliqes du seintisme croice, de la coroune des espines de quoi Dieux fust corone en la croice, ove autres noblis jueaux, en signifiaunce qe sure la croice, la dit coroune a test, nostre Seigneur fist pees, salut, et tranquillite pardurable au lygne humain. Le dit prince de Galis fist meisme le serement en la grant moustier de Loviers, le xv jour de Maij, lan susdit, en presence dez noblis chevaleris Fraunceis pur la cause y envoiez."

126 Gray (Scalacronica, p. 196): "Le dit roy Dengleter prist soun chemyn devers Huniflu ou se mist sure mere devers Engleter, sez fitz et plusours

<sup>128</sup> Rymer's Fædera (VI, 196) makes Edward reach Westminster the next day: "Memorandum, quod die Lunae Decimo octavo die Maii . . . Dominus Rex . . . ad Regnum suum Angliae veniens, in Portu de la Rye, circiter horam Vespertinam, applicuit: Et, exinde statim equitando, in Crastino apud Palatium suum Westmonasteriense, quasi bassa Hora Nona, accessit."

<sup>320</sup> The continuator of Higden's Polychronicon (Appendix to vol. VIII, p. 410) tells of the escort to Calais, and Knighton (Chron., II, 113) gives the time: "Circa translationem sancti Thomae," or about July 7. M. Delachenal (Hist. de Charles V, II, 240) infers from a letter of King John dated Canterbury, July 5, 1360, that the prince of Wales went only to Dover: "Scavoir vous faisons que apres nostre depart de Londres . . . nostre nepveu le prince [de Galles] nous a tenu compagnie, et tendra jusques a Douvres."

order to complete the treaty. This is known from a record discovered by M. Delachenal, which shows that the prince of Wales was paid for his services at this time ten pounds a day for the seventy-five days between August 24 and November 6 inclusive. 123 The English king did not go over until October, and the treaty was not signed until October 24.124

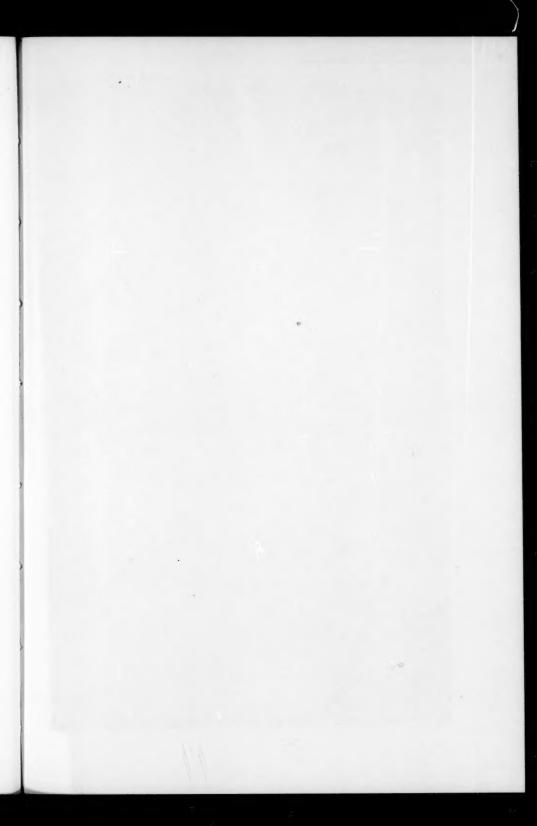
The importance of these details lies in the fact that, in connection with them, we get one more glimpse of Chaucer, another discovery of M. Delachenal. In the expense account of Lionel, earl of Ulster, as preserved in the Exchequer Accounts of the Public Record Office, London, is one which reads:

"Datum Galfrido Chaucer, per preceptum domini, eundo cum litteris in Angliam, iii roiales precii ix s." 125

"Idem computat in vadiis suis capiendo x. 1. per diem a xxviiii° die augusti dicto anno xxxiiii¹°, quo die iter suum arripuit cum familia sua de hospicio suo infra London, versus Caleys pro tractatu pacis ibidem habito inter reges Angliae et Francie, ibidem morando et exinde redeundo usque vi diem novembris proximo sequentem, quo die venit ad London, cum familia sua ad hospicium suum predicto, per lxxv dies, primo die et ultimo computatis, DCCL 1., capiendo per diem x 1., sicut supra continetur."—Exchequer Accounts, Bundle 314, no. 2, as quoted by M. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, II, 241.

<sup>138</sup> According to Rymer's Fædera (VI, 214-15) Edward signed documents in London on Sept. 30, and in Calais on Oct. 16. Longman (Life and Times of Edward III, II, 58) says the English king landed at Boulogne Oct. 9. The long delay in signing the treaty had been partly due to the difficulty the French had in raising the enormous ransom of King John. As is well known Galeazzo Visconti, Lord of Milan, furnished the 600,000 florins necessary, on condition that Isabella, third daughter of King John of France, should be given in marriage to Galeazzo's son Gian. Villani says the marriage took place about the eighth of October.

<sup>288</sup> Quoted, except for parts of the last four words, by R. Delachenal, Histoire de Charles V, II, 24I, and first called to my attention by Professor G. L. Burr of Cornell University when sending me the Histoire for the investigations of this paper. That the record occurs in the expense account of Earl Lionel is clear from the heading of the MS. (No. 1 of Bundle 314): "Expense domini comitis Ultonie apud Caleys, existentis ibidem ad tractatum, et redeundo in Angliam, facte per manus Andree de Budeston, anno xxxiiij\*o." This last fact, however, was not given by M. Delachenal and I learned it only when writing to him after my article "A New Chaucer Item" had been printed in Mod. Lang. Notes, XXVI, 19 (Jan., 1911). M. Delachenal had also referred to Chaucer as "clerc du roi," and had assumed that he had played a minor part in the peace negotiations at Calais ("participa . . . aux négociations à Calais"). Basing my article on these statements I was too liberal in my conjecture that Chaucer was perhaps detached from the service of Lionel and more directly in that of the





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Such a record may mean more than at first appears. What were these letters which Chaucer bore to England at this important time? Were they of merely private nature, or were they connected with the peace negotiations? We shall probably never know with certainty, but M. Delachenal's conjecture seems more than likely, that they were connected with the chief business in hand.

Whether Chaucer returned to Calais after bearing messages to

England can not be known. Yet it is reasonable to believe that he bore answers back to his master Lionel. If so, he was doubtless an onlooker at that "most magnificent and grand supper in the castle of Calais"126 which the king of England gave to the king of France. "It was well arranged," says the chronicler, "and the children of the king, and the duke of Lancaster, with the greatest barons of England, waited bareheaded." Besides, as Professor Skeat has conjectured,127 he was probably with his master Lionel when the latter, together with the prince of Wales and his brother Edmund, accompanied the king of France "in pilgrimage to Our Lady of king or prince of Wales. Yet I should add that M. Delachenal in his letter (of April, 1911) questioned my interpretation of "domini" as if it were "domini regis," saying he had himself been in doubt whether the reference was to the king or to Lionel. I at once wrote to Mr. A. W. Pollard, of the British Museum, asking him to have the record examined as to Chaucer and the interpretation of "domini." He placed the matter in the hands of Mr. R. L. Steele, who sent me the Chaucer record above (May 17, 1911), confirming the conjectural restoration of the last part (see my article in Mod. Lang. Notes above). He also answered that an examination of the whole record showed that the "domini" of the Chaucer item was Roger Beauchamp, captain of Calais Castle, by whose order many of the other payments were made. In this Mr. Steele, on whom I supposed I could rely, was in error as shown by the fuller transcript of the account published by Mr. Moore in Mod. Lang. Notes, XXVII, 79. In either case I had known since the letters of M. Delachenal and Mr. Steele that Chaucer was still in the employ of Lionel, earl of Ulster, and had already embodied it in this paper. That I did not publish this fact at once was owing to my intention to deal further with the whole subject, sufficiently expressed I had supposed in footnote 8 of my article "A New Chaucer Item" in the above named periodical.

On the opposite page is a facsimile of the MS. in which this last discovered reference to Chaucer occurs. It will be seen to be full of record-hand abbreviations of the fourteenth century, some of them not so easy to decipher. The Chaucer item seems to read: Datum Galfrido Chaucer per preceptum domini eundo cum litteris in Angliam iij roiales precii ix s.

Froissart, Chron., VI, 320. at Works of Chancer, I, xix.

Boulogne." One can not do better than allow Froissart to describe the picturesque event:

"Et ensi vinrent-il tout de piet et devant disner jusques à Boulongne où il furent receu à moult grant joie, et là estoit li dus de Normendie qui les attendoit. Si vinrent li dessus dit signeur tout à piet en l'église Nostre-Dame de Boulongne, et fisent leurs offrandes moult dévotement, et puis retournèrent en l'abbeye de laiens qui estout apparillie pour le roy recevoir et les enfans dou roy d'Engleterre." 128

Then, when all these ceremonies were over, the English princes and nobles, with the noble hostages of France, finally closed the campaign of 1359-60 and the attendant peace negotiations by returning to England. It was "the vigil of All Saints," says Froissart, and Chaucer's first experience in war and public service had lasted almost a year and a day.

## VII. RESULTS

For our purpose it is unnecessary to summarize the purely historical results from this detailed study of Edward III's campaign of 1359–60. What has been added on that side will be evident from comparison with previous accounts. As indicated by the title, the study has been undertaken with special reference to the life of the young Chaucer. How noteworthy the year to him, how broadening by travel, adventure, hardship of camp life, imprisonment, employment as trusted messenger, experience of every sort, it is impossible to estimate. Besides, some new light has been thrown on the man himself through this more minute relation of the doings of the army with which he was connected.

We now know that Chaucer marched with a division of the army led by the Black Prince, rather than with that led by the king or Henry of Lancaster. With this division, too, the poet made his first visit to Montreuil, the scene of later diplomatic business during the year 1377, in which he was a more important factor. We know also the more exact course through France of the prince's division, and therefore of Chaucer's journey. Again we know, from Thomas Gray's contemporary account, that the division with which

<sup>158</sup> Froissart, Chron., VI, 320, sec. red.

Chaucer moved appeared before Rhétel previous to reaching Reims. It seems certain that it was of this event Chaucer testified in the heraldic trial of Scrope and Grosvenor in 1386. Further, Chaucer's capture by the French has been shown to have been probably between the fourth of December, 1359, and January 11, 1360, when Edward left Reims. The poet's imprisonment, therefore, lasted at most for some two months or two months and a half. On being ransomed Chaucer must have rejoined the army at Guillon in Burgundy, since reaching England at this time from the heart of France would have been practically impossible. With the army, too, he must have continued until the peace of Brétigny when, with the king and his sons, on May 18 he sailed for England. Later in the same year, Chaucer again went over to Calais, probably with his master Lionel in October, and by him was sent as a bearer of letters from Calais to England. The inference seems justified that this service was on business connected with the peace negotiations. On his return to Calais, -and such return seems probable, -Chaucer doubtless saw something of the royal feast in Calais of the kings of England and France, and as Professor Skeat has suggested was probably present on the pilgrimage of his master Lionel to Boulogne in the last week of October. He finally returned to England on November I, after a series of unusually varied experiences lasting almost exactly a year.

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# ITALIAN INFLUENCES AS SEEN IN THE SENTIMENTS OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY ON THE CID

NY study on the sources of the poetic doctrines contained in the Sentiments de l'Académie Française sur le Cid must make Jean Chapelain (1501-1674) the center of attack. That he did the lion's share of the Academy's work is abundantly attested; first by Pellisson<sup>1</sup> and then very precisely by Chapelain himself in his correspondence. Shortly after Scudéry had referred his Observations sur le Cid to the Academicians for a judgment, Chapelain wrote to Balzac: "L'affaire est passée en procès ordinaire et moy qui vous parle en ay esté le rapporteur et en dois encore parler à la première séance."2 That his opinions were adopted throughout by his colleagues, appears very clearly from two other letters to the same correspondent, written shortly after the appearance of the Academy's work in print. "Je ne suis pas marri que les Sentimens de l'Académie ne vous avent pas dépleu puisque je suis contraint de vous avouer que j'v av la plus grande part au détriment de mes plus grandes affaires. Mais, afin de ne desrober pas l'honneur à qui il appartient, il est à propos que vous sçachiés que MM. de Cerizy et de Gombaut ont contribué aussy aux fleurs et aux ornements de cette pièce.8 . . . Pour les Sentimens de l'Académie, si vous v estimés autre chose que l'exorde et la péroraison, je n'en seray pas marry puisqu'ils sont tous de moy, et que c'est ce qui me semble de plus solide, et quand vous ne feriés cas que de ces deux parties, je ne laisserois pas d'en estre bien aise, puisque de celles-là mesme toute la contexture, toute l'idée et tout le raisonnement sont de mon creu et qu'une bonne partie des pensées et de l'expression m'appartien-Avec tout cela, je suis ravy qu'on l'attribue à tout le corps."4

Chapelain is then to all intents and purposes the author of the Academy's work. Now plenty of evidence could be cited in proof

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Histoire de l'Académie Française, Paris, 1858, I, p. 90ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Lettres de Jean Chapelain, ed. Tamisey de Larroque, Paris, 1880, I, p. 156. <sup>3</sup> Ibid., I, p. 193.

<sup>\*</sup>Ibid., p. 203f. The letters are dated January 25 and February 21, 1638.

of Chapelain's predilection for the Italian theoreticians in the poetic art. But the most convincing of all is offered by the following list of books published prior to 1637 and copied from the manuscript catalogue of his library contained in the Bibliothèque Nationale.5 We will give first the books in which are to be sought the doctrines by which the Cid was judged, then the works of literary controversy, which may have served not only as doctrinal sources, but also as models for the method followed in the composition of the Academy's work.

## I. TREATISES ON POETIC ART

- 1. Aristotle. Paolo Beni in Aristotelis Poeticam commentarii. Patavia, 1613.
- 2. La Poetica vulgarizzata et sposata per Ludovico Castelvetro. Vienna d'Austria, 1570; Basilea, 1576. (The citations in this study are made from the later edition.)
- 3. De Poetica liber, Danielis Heinsius recensuit. Lugduni Batavorum, 1610.
- 4. Vincentii Madii et Bartholomaei Lombardi in librum de Poetica communes explicationes. Venetiis, 1550.
- Annotationi di M. Alessandro Piccolomini nel libro della Poetica. Vinegia, 1575.
- 6. F. Robortelli in librum de arte Poetica explicationes. Florentiae, 1548. - Petri Victorii, Commentarii in primum librum de Arte Poetarum.
- Florentiae, 1573. 8. Buonamici, Francesco. Discorsi poetici nella Academia Fiorentina in difesa d'Aristotile. Fiorenza, 1597.
- 9. Daniello, Bernardino. Discorso della Poetica. Venetia, 1536.
- 10. Galutii (Galuzzi) Tarquinii. Virgilianae Vindicationes et commentarii tres de Tragoedia, Comoedia, Elegia. Romae, 1621.
- Rinovazione dell' Antica Tragedia e difesa del Crispo. Roma, 1621.
- 12. Guarini, Battista. Compendio della Poesia Tragicomica, tratto dai duo Verati. Venetia, 1603.
- 13. Heinsius, Danielis. De Tragoediae constitutione. Lugduni Batavorum, 1611.
- 14. Horatius, Q. Flaccus. Liber de Arte Poetica; Jacobi Grifoli interpretatione explicatus. Lutetiae, 1552.
- 15. Danielis Heinsii, Animadversiones et Notae. Lugd. Bat., 1629.
- 16. In Epistolam de Arte Poetica, Jasonis de Nores interpretatio. Parisiis, 1544.
- Francesci Robortelli in librum Horatii qui de vulgo de arte poetica inscribitur. -
- 18. Ingegneri, Angelo. Della Poesia rappresentativa. Ferrara, 1598.
- 19. Lapini, Frosino. Lettione nella quale si ragiona in universale del fine della poesia. Fiorenza, 1567.
- 20. Lopez, Alonso. Philosophia antigua, Poetica. Madrid, 1596.
- Minturno, Ant. Sebastiano. De Poetica. Venetiis, 1559.
   Nisieli, Udeno (i. e., Benedetto Fioretti). Proginnasmi poetici, vol. primo. Firenze, 1620. (Three vols., or parts bound in one. The second part containing vols. four and five was published 1638.)
  - Nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 318.

- 23. Nores, Giasone de. Poetica. Padova, 1588.
- Patrizi, Francesco. Della Poetica. La Deca istoriale; La Deca disputata. Ferrara, 1586.
- Pontanus, Jacobus (Spannmueller). Poeticarum Institutionum, libri 1II. Avenioni, 1600.
- 26. Scaliger, Jul. Caesar. Poeticae, libri VII. Heidelburgi, 1581.
- Segni, Agnolo. Ragionamento sopra le cose pertinenti alla poetica. Fiorenza, 1581.
- Summo, Faustino. Discorsi poetici nei quali si discorrono le più principali questioni di Poesia. Padova, 1600.
- 29. Tasso, Bernardo. Ragionamento della Poesia. Venetia, 1362.
- Tasso, Torquato. Discorsi dell' Arte Poetica, et in particolare del Poema heroico. Venetia, 1587.
- Villani, Niccolò. Ragionamento sopra la Poesia giocosa de' Greci, de' Latini, e de' Toscani. Venetia, 1634.
- 32. Viperani, Giov. Antonio. De Poetica. Antuerpiae, 1579.

#### II. LITERARY CONTROVERSIES

#### (a) DANTE

- Bulgarini, Belisario. Alcune considerationi sopra' 1 Discorso di M. Giacopo Mazzoni fatto in difesa della Comedia di Dante. Siena, 1583.
- Carriero, Alessandro. Breve et ingenioso Discorso contra l'opera di Dante. Padova. 1582.
- 35. Mazzoni, Jacopo. Della difesa della Comedia di Dante. Cesena, 1587.

#### (b) TASSO

- Academia della Crusca. Difesa dell' Orlando Furioso dell' Ariosto contra' 1 Dialogo dell' Epica Poesia di Camillo Pellegrino. Firenze, 1584.
- Beni, Paolo. Comparatione di Homero, Virgilio e Torquato, e chi di loro si debba la palma nell' Heroico Poema. Padova, 1607.
- Guastavini, Giulio. Risposta contra l'Infarinato primo intorno alla Gierusalemme Liberata. —, 1590? (Bergamo, 1588).
- L'Infarinato primo (i. e., Leonardo Salviati). Dello Infarinato Accademico della Crusca, Risposta all' Apologia di Torq. Tasso. Firenze, 1585.
- L'Infarinato secondo (idem). Risposta al libro intitolato: Replica di Camillo Pellegrino. Firenze, 1588.
- Lombardelli, Orazio. Discorso intorno ai contrasti che si fanno sopra la Gierusalemme Liberata. Ferrara, 1586.
- Malatesta, Giuseppe. Della nuova Poesia, ovvero delle Difese del Furioso. Verona, 1590.
- Oddi, Niccolò degli. Dialogo in difesa di Camillo Pellegrino contra gli Academici della Crusca. Venetia, 1587.
- 44. Pellegrino, Camillo. Replica alla Risposta degli Academici della Crusca, fatta contra il Dialogo dell' Epica Poesia in difesa come e' dicono dell' Orlando Furioso. Mantova, 1586.
- 45. Pescetti, Orlando. Risposta all' Anticrusca di P. Beni. Verona, 1613.
- Porta, Malatesta. Il Rossi, ovvero del parere sopra alcune objettioni fatte dell' Infarinato Acad. della Crusca. Rimino, 1589.

- Il Beffa, ovvero della favola dell' Eneide . . . con una difesa della morte di Solimano nella Gier. Liberata recata à vitio dell' Arte in quel Poema. Rimino, 1604.
- 48. Tasso, Torquato. Apologia in difesa della sua Gierusalemme Liberata. Ferrara, 1586.
- Risposta alla lettera di Bastian Rossi dell' Academia della Crusca. Ferrara, 1585.

#### (c) CANACE

- Cavalcanti, Bernardo. Giuditio sopra la Tragedia di Canace et Macareo con molte utili considerationi circa l'Arte Tragica. Venetia, 1566.
- Sperone, Speroni. Canace, alla quale sono aggiunte una Apologia & alcune lettioni in difesa della Tragedia. Venetia, 1597.

## (d) IL PASTOR FIDO

- Beni, Paolo. Risposta alle considerationi e i dubbi del eccmo. Sig., Malacreta, Acad. Ordito, sopra il Pastor Fido. Padova, 1600.
- Heredia, Luigi. Apología nella quale si difendono Teocrito e i Dorici dalle accuse di Battista Guarini e per incidenza si mette in disputa il suo Pastor Fido. Palermo e Vicenza, 1608.
- 54. Malacreta, Giov. Pietro. Considerationi sopra il Pastor Fido. Venetia, 1600.
- 55. Pescetti, Orlando. Difesa del Pastor Fido. Verona, 1601.
- 56. Savio, Giovanni, Apologia in difesa del Pastor Fido. Venetia, 1601.
- Summo, Faustino. Due Discorsi; l'uno contra le Tragicommedie e le Pastorali; l'altro contra il Pastor Fido. Vicenza, 1601.
- Il Verrato (Battista Guarini). Difesa di quanto ha scritto M. Giason Denores (di Nores) contra le tragicomedie e le Pastorali (see 22). Ferrara, 1588.
- Il Verrato secondo (idem). Replica dell' Altizzato Academico Ferrarese in difesa del Pastor Fido. Firenze, 1593.

The Sentiments of the French Academy on the Cid<sup>7</sup> consists really of four distinct parts, although the division is not indicated. I. Introduction, pp. 463-466; II. The critique of the Cid or judgment between it and the criticisms of Scudéry (the work of Chapelain), pp. 466-482; III. Remarks upon the verses, pp. 483-499; IV. Conclusion, pp. 499-501.

\*The Ms. Catalogue cites in addition the third and fourth discourses of the Academico Assetato, and fifth, sixth and seventh of the Academico Traviato. They discuss the superiority of Tasso over Homer and Virgil, and so have a very indirect relation to our subject.

<sup>7</sup> Citations from the Academy's work will be made from the edition in the appendix to the OEuvres de Pierre Corneille, Paris, 1868, XII, p. 463ff.; Grands Ecrivains series, editor, Marty-Laveaux. To avoid a multiplicity of footnotes, citations from the doctrinaire works will be referred back to the above list by their sequence numbers.

## I. INTRODUCTION

The first part of the first lengthy paragraph, in which the advantages of literary discussions, when conducted in the proper spirit, are set forth, is no doubt suggested by the rather embarrassing position in which the Academy found itself. We shall only note in passing that Guarini (58) and Savio (55) preface their defenses of the *Pastor Fido* by similar considerations, and the latter's remark: "Litighiamo avanti al tribunale della ragione, che la verità delle opinioni non del numero dei defensori, o della fama loro misura, ma dal peso degli argomenti" (56, p. 33), bears a rather striking resemblance to the Academy's declaration: "Elle (l'Académie) s'est persuadée qu'étant question de juger de la justice et non pas de la force de son parti, il falloit plutôt peser les raisons que compter les hommes qu'elle avoit de son côté" (p. 464).

After this preamble the Academy sought to establish a criterion, a unit of measurement so to speak, by which a literary work should be judged. This was the usual course of procedure in these discus-Thus the Academia della Crusca in its defense of Ariosto, insisted that delight is the real purpose of poetry, while Tasso and his champions were convinced that utility is the true end. Hence the question of utility versus delight had been pretty thoroughly threshed over. Robortelli and Castelvetro, while admitting that Aristotle seems to favor utility, maintained that he had been led farther than he meant to go in his desire to defend tragedy against Plato. Piccolomini held: "Ch'il fine principale, non solo della tragedia, ma di tutte le spetie della poesia . . . non sia il diletto, come voglion' alcuni; ma l'utile, e'l giovamento; accompagnandosegli, come fin secondario, adjutatore, & mezzano à questo, il diletto ancora" (5, p. 101). Carriero, early in his attack on Dante, declares: "Noi veramente crediamo l'utile esser il fine della Poesia, e il diletto ministro, e seguace" (34, p. 21). Faustino Summo, defining imitation in poetry, remarks: "A questa rassomiglianza poi è detto per compagno il diletto, per il cui mezo la poesia consegue il fin suo, che è l'utile" (28, p. 11). And Nisiely, after having remarked in his first volume: "La Poesia per imprimere in noi agevolemente gli abiti virtuosi, prende per suo instrumento il diletto" (21, I, p. 21), sums up the discussion of other doctrinaires upon the same subject, as follows: "Il fine (del poeta) secondo alcuni è il diletto; secondo molti è il giovamento; secondo me, e i professori del vero, è l'utile condito con diletto" (III., p. 346). And, selecting one more among the many which present themselves, Paolo Beni says in his commentary: "Id enim bono poemati est propositum ut immoderatis mortalium affectionibus tanquam medelam afferat, & vitia expellans, inserat virtutes & in universum incendat. Agedum igitur requiramus quis sit finis poemati propositus; atque adeo doceamus esse honestam utilitatem" (1, p. 184f.). In precisely the same fashion, and in language that seems reminiscent, the Academy or Chapelain seeks to unite the partisans of the useful and the delectable: "Mais bien qu'ils s'expriment en termes si différents, on trouvera qu'ils ne disent que la même chose. . . . Il faut croire, si l'on ne veut leur faire injustice, qu'ils ont entendu parler du plaisir qui n'est point l'ennemi, mais l'instrument de la vertu, qui purge l'homme, sans dégoût et insensiblement, de ses habitudes vicieuses, qui est utile parce qu'il est honnête. . . . Ainsi ils ne combattent les autres qu'en apparence, puisqu'il est vrai que si ce plaisir n'est l'utilité même, au moins est-il la source d'où elle coule nécessairement; que quelque part qu'il se trouve, il ne va jamais sans elle, et que tous deux se produisent par les mêmes voies (p. 465).8 De cette sorte, . . . nous pouvons dire tous ensemble qu'une pièce de théâtre est bonne quand elle produit un contentement raisonnable."

But who are to be the judges of this "contentment raisonnable"? An important point, upon which depended very largely the Academy's verdict; for all agreed, even Scudéry, that the Cid had pleased the people. Chapelain and his colleagues decided: "Comme dans la musique et dans la peinture, nous n'estimerions pas que tous les concerts et tous les tableaux fussent bons, encore qu'ils plussent au vulgaire, si les préceptes de ces arts n'y étoient bien observés et si les experts qui en sont les vrais juges ne confirmoient par leur approbation celle de la multitude, de même nous ne dirons pas sur la foi du peuple, qu'un ouvrage soit bon parce qu'il l'aura contenté, si les doctes aussi n'en sont contents" (p. 465). Ample authority for this

The final text differs here considerably from that given in Chapelain's manuscript which, in this instance, recalls the Italian doctrinaires somewhat less insistently.

conclusion was to be found among the authorities which Chapelain had at hand. So, among others, Viperani insisted: "Sed neque erit poëta si commentis non utatur, quae docti homines ingeniosè confingunt, & sapienter explicant. Malim tam, licet, imperitum vulgus oblectationem aurium & voluptatem magis petat quàm animi culturam & doctrinam" (32, p. 22). Cavalcanti, having to judge Sperone's Canace, was governed by the same principle: "Vi dico che è meglio a meritar loda appresso dieci ò quindici giuditiosi huomini che guadagnare il favore di tutto il vulgo, così devete voi più tosto cercare, di essere lodato dai dotti, quantunque pochi se ne trovino che dal semplice populaccio" (50, p. 54). And, to cite one more among many, Faustino Summo: "Il mondo poi che altro è egli se non il Vulgo ignorante, al cui perverso giuditio non s'ha a commettere i meriti e i demeriti delle opere e dei poemi, ma agli artefici, & ai buoni artefici, e tra questi a ben pochi" (28, p. 93).

As one would expect, the Academy showed no less austerity on the question of morals: "Les mauvais exemples sont contagieux, même sur les théâtres; les feintes représentations ne causent que trop de crimes" (p. 466). It was a point much insisted upon by Aristotle's commentators. So Madius: Qui igitur venerea poetice scribunt, ac turpibus lascivisque sermonibus juventutem corrumpunt, perinde faciunt, ac mali medici, qui venena propinant, cum affere salubria medicamenta deberent. Ut hos ergo carnifices, non-medicos vocare par est, illos ita non poetas, sed civitatum pestas congruo admodum nomine nuncupabimus" (4, p. 13). And later, Heinsius declared that a play which presents corrupt manners is a "scholam vitiorum" (3, p. 168).

And finally, the point which made the Academy's task such a difficult one; for: "les pièces irrégulières contentent quelquefois" (p. 466). Now Ingegneri in his very interesting little treatise, De la Poesia rappresentativa, had provided for just such cases. It is often noted that in a tournament the knight who from his appearance seemed destined to carry off the prize, falls at the first shock of the lance. "Così, & non altramente avverrà d'un Poema, di pensieri ricco & arguto, & facondo, & attrativo d'espressione; il quale in una sola lettura in guisa si vedrem guadagnare l'universale consenso... meglio essaminandolo, il ritrovi privo d'arte e dell'inventione"

(18, p. 4f.). This point of view recurs constantly in the Italian literary controversies. So Nisiely, while admitting that the Pastor Fido has rendered its author immortal in Italy, maintained that the play was: "piena di vezi, di scherzi, di profumi amorosi, ogna cosa mele, e zucchero, ogni cosa colori, e splendori; non artifizi naturali, ma sforzi artifiziati, recercati a posta, e rimpinzati a sproposito per lo più, contrario al decoro dell'opera, e al costume delle persone e al verisimil della imitazione" (22, III, p. 139). And Paolo Beni, examining the same work, admits that: "La grandezza e leggiadria del verso, il quale accompagnato dall'acutezza e vaghezza de'concetti, rende tal poema il più celebre che fin'hora in questa genere si sia forse udito o letto." Nevertheless this is a quality to be regretted, because it disturbs: "il verisimile e il decoro, e con la difficoltà & oscurità di sì elaborati versi & acuti concetti, s'impedisce e leva l'intelligenza agl'uditori; onde poi restano defraudati dell'utile e fine che si pretende" (52, p. 2 & 3). In like manner the Academy is forced to conclude that if irregular pieces lo please sometimes: "ce n'est que pour ce qu'elles ont quelque chose de régulier, ce n'est que pour quelques beautés véritables et extraordinaires, qui emportent si loin l'esprit, que de longtemps après il n'est capable d'apercevoir les difformités dont elles sont suivies, et qui font couler insensiblement les défauts pendant que les yeux de l'entendement sont encore éblouis par l'éclat de ses lumières" (p. 466). It was in this way that Faustino Summo (28, p. 50ff.) accounted for the success of the Orlando Furioso which, thanks to excellent imitation in some of its details, was more popular than the Iliad and the Italia Liberata of Trissino.

## II. THE CRITIQUE

With the establishment of these general points the introduction of the Sentiments of the French Academy on the Cid ends, and we come to the technical discussion of the play for which Chapelain seems to have been almost wholly responsible. A short paragraph (p. 466) expresses the Academician's surprise that Scudéry had not followed the Aristotelian order of discussion, namely, (1) la fable, (2) les moeurs, (3) les sentiments, (4) la diction. Such indeed is the sequence in the Poeticas but it is followed very rarely in the controversial writings of the Italian littérateurs. It is therefore the

more significant to find Paolo Beni, whom Chapelain cites as early as 1630 in his Letter on the necessity of the rule of twenty-four hours, expressing his surprise, that Malacreta had neglected to follow this order in his criticism of the *Pastor Fido* (52, p. 142).

Scudéry claimed that the subject of the Cid was worthless for dramatic purposes because it contained no climax and no intrigue. The outcome of the play, he said, is apparent from the first; because, after the death of Chimène's father early in the play, the hero and heroine are, and can be, actuated by only one sentiment. Chapelain did not endorse this criticism: "Car le noeud des pièces de théâtre étant un accident inopiné qui arrête le cours de l'action représentés, et le dénouement un autre accident imprévu qui en facilite l'accomplissement. . . . Il ne faut que se souvenir que le mariage de Chimène avec Rodrigue ayant été résolu dans l'esprit du Comte, la querelle qu'il a incontinent après avec don Diègue met l'affaire aux termes de se rompre, et qu'ensuite la mort que Rodrigue lui donne en éloigne encore plus la conclusion. Et dans ces continuelles traverses l'on reconnoîtra facilement le noeud ou l'intrigue. Le dénouement aussi ne sera pas moins évident, si l'on considère . . . que le Roi . . . contre l'attente de tous, oblige Chimène d'épouser celui des deux qui sortira vainqueur" (p. 467). Among the exhaustive-and exhausting-elucidations upon Aristotle's remarks concerning the construction of the dramatic "fable" this statement attained by Piccolomini has perhaps the closest resemblance, both in terms and in the possibility of application, to Chapelain's definition: "S'hà da intender dunque per peripetia nella favola della tragedia, . . . una mutatione importante, che si faccia à contraria fortuna, riuscita fuor dell'opinione, & di quello, che si fusse aspettato, ò creduto; per la qual mutatione trapassi l'huomo, ò da felice stato, à vita misera, ò da misero, & calamitoso à felice. Et quando si dice fuor d'aspettatione, & di quello, che si fusse aspettato, ò stimato, non s'ha questo da intendere, come credono alcuni, rispetto agli Spettatori; ma rispetto à quelli stessi, à chi l'infelicità, ò la felicità causata per quella mutatione, appartiene" (5, p. 167).

"Si donc," concludes Chapelain, "le sujet du Cid se peut dire mauvais, nous ne croyons pas que ce soit pource qu'il n'a point de noeud, mais pource qu'il n'est pas vraisemblable" (p. 467). This

matter of verisimilitude was a point much insisted upon and as it was to form the basis of judgment for many of the questions raised against the Cid, Chapelain evidently felt the need of defining it with great care. "A ce que nous pouvons juger des sentiments d'Aristote sur la matière du vraisemblable, il n'en reconnoît que de deux genres, le commun et l'extraordinaire. Le commun comprend les choses qui arrivent ordinairement aux hommes, selon leurs conditions, leurs âges, leurs moeurs et leurs passions, comme il est vraisemblable qu'un marchand cherche le gain, qu'un enfant fasse des imprudences, qu'un prodigue tombe en misère, et qu'un homme en colère coure à la vengeance, et tous les effets qui ont accoutumé d'en procéder. L'extraordinaire embrasse les choses qui arrivent rarement et outre le vraisemblable ordinaire, comme qu'un habile méchant soit trompé, qu'un homme fort soit vaincu. Dans cet extraordinaire entrent tous les accidents qui surprennent et qu'on attribue à la fortune, pourvu qu'ils naissent de l'enchaînement des choses qui arrivent d'ordinaire. . . . Hors de ces deux genres, il ne se fait rien qu'on puisse ranger sous le vraisemblable" (p. 467f.). A relationship between this passage and the following from Castelvetro seems evident. "Sono due maniere di verisimile, l'una di quelli, che rappresentano le verità, le quali avengono per lo più secondo certo corso, et l'altra di quelli, che rappresentano le verità, che alcuna volta traviano dall'usato corso, come, è verisimile, che uno astuto malvagio inganni, & non sia ingannato, & che un possente vinca, & non sia vinto,9 percioche veramente noi veggiamo per lo più avenire così, & è anchora verisimile, che uno astuto malvagio. volendo ingannare, sia ingannato alcuna volta, & che un possente, volendo vincere, sia vinto alcuna volta. Si che l'un verisimile riguarda l'assai volte della verità, & l'altro le poche volte della verità, & così l'uno, come l'altro è verisimile; ma il secondo per la rarità è più maraviglioso, & è detto essere verisinile fuori del verisimile pure per la rarità" (2, p. 400). An observance of this law is necessary in order that when the poet exposes his subject to the auditors or spectators: "ils se portent à croire sans autre preuve qu'il ne contient rien que de vrai" (p. 468). The reason was not hard to find; see, for example, Carriero: "proprio del poeta è di raccontar l'imprese

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Madius gives as example of improbability: "verisimile non esse, sapientem decipi nec strenuum superari" (4, p. 199).

. . . secondo che pare ad un giuditio retto & sincero, che verisimile ò necessarii sieno si che facilmente indur si possa il lettore, ò l'auditore à creder quello, ch'ei legge, overo ode" (34, p. 12). And the reason why the probable rather than the true is to be sought after in the epic and the tragedy: "c'est que cet art ayant pour fin le plaisir utile, il y conduit plus facilement les hommes par le vraisemblable, qui ne trouve point de résistance en eux, que par le vrai, qui pourroit être si étrange et si incroyable qu'ils refuseroient de s'en laisser persuader" (p. 468). Robortelli had given the same reason: "oblectatio omnis inde provenit, quod in veris inesse ea scimus; & omnino quatenus verisimili veritatis est particeps vim habet movendi, ac persuadendi" (6, p. 93).

Now several things are necessary to make an action probable: "il y faut garder la bienséance du temps, du lieu, des conditions, des âges, des moeurs et des passions, la principale entre toutes est que dans le poème chacun agisse conformément aux moeurs qui lui ont été attribuées, et que par exemple un méchant ne fasse point de bons desseins" (p. 468). This doctrine of the conformity and consistency of moral habits, as one of the main factors by which an impression of probability is produced, is stated in characteristic fashion by Giasone di Nores: "La convenienza de'costumi delle persone tragiche consiste nel decoro, secondo la età, secondo gli habiti, secondo gli affetti, secondo il sesso, secondo la patria, secondo la professione. . . . La equalità de'costumi consiste in questo que introducendo noi una persona in nelle nostre tragedie in quelle, le diamo da principio alla fine i medesimi costumi. Se attribuiremo ad alcuno nel principio crudeltà, sequiamo sempre a depingerlo per crudele; se inconstantia per inconstante; se superbia, per superbo" (23, p. 24 & 26). This doctrine played an important role in the Italian literary controversies. So Nisieli criticizes in the Pastor Fido, Linco: "il quale per incitare il suo giovane al bene, comincia del male, cioè tenta di sviarlo a fare all'amore . . . così parlava più conformi a suoi sfrenati costumi, che alla ragione, e all'uffizio suo . . . il che tutto ridonde in biasimo del poeta che diedi i costumi contrari alle qualità delle persone" (22, I, p. 144); and: "Dorinda nobile, e donzella è cosi sfacciata che non arrosse in pubblica alla presenza d'un servo, e del vecchio Linco parlare di cose amorose;

. . . la infortuna arditeza di costei ci fare in tutto, e per tutto alienissima dall'arte d'amore, dal decoro di fanciulla, e da'costumi del sesso feminile" (p. 146f.). Even Paolo Beni, inclined to favor the same play, could not close his eyes to what he considered similar defects in other characters: "Si come io scusai il sacerdoto Aminta mentre con affetto e fede maritale amò Lucrina" (contrary to propriety of manners in a priest of Diana, it had been alleged by the Academico Innaspato) "cosi all'incontro hò io al presente gran dubbio se sia stato conveniente haver fatto che un ministro di Diana s'interponga in favorir Mirtillo in occasione amorosa, & in tempo che non poteva trovare giusto pretesto," etc. (52, p. 123). It is entirely in keeping, then, with the doctrine and the practice of these authorities, whose works Chapelain had before him, that he came to the conclusion, which amounted to a categoric condemnation of the Cid: "Sur ce fondement nous disons que le sujet du Cid est défectueux en sa plus essentielle partie . . . car ni la bienséance des moeurs d'une fille introduite comme vertueuse n'y est gardée par le poète lorsqu'elle se résolut à épouser celui qui a tué son père, ni la fortune par un accident imprévu . . . n'en fait point le démêlement. Au contraire, la fille consent à ce mariage par la seule violence que lui fait son amour" (p. 468).

But, it may be argued, Corneille took his subject from historical sources. This is no excuse: "Nous maintenons que toutes les vérités ne sont pas bonnes pour le théâtre" (p. 468). Niccolò Villani made the same point in his criticism of the Gerusalemme Liberata which, as an epic, was subject to the same laws of probability as the tragedy. "Et cui può parer convenevole che i christiani eroi, che cinte per Giesù havean le spade; e chi passati erano tanti pericoli oltre mare; non già per cupidizia d'imperio ma per solo vendetta del loro Iddio, e che somma lor felicità imputavano il poter toccar con le lingue dove toccato havea co'piedi il Redentore: che tali Eroi, dich'io: in terra tale si havessono ad inamorar delle femmine Saracine, e a fornicar novamente con le Moabitidi, e posto a non calere la sacrosancta impressa loro, bruttamente dietro a quelle a sviarsi, e tal'uno anche rinegar la fede di Christo, per guadagnarsi l'amore d'una fanciulla pagana? ne scagiona il dire; che una si fatta retà nella historia si legga, sapendosi che oggetto del poeta il verisimile

esser dee, e non il vero" (31, p. 55f.). If Tasso had laid himself open to this criticism it was not for lack of doctrine. "Ma peroche quello che principalmente constituisce, e determina la natura della Poesia, e la fà dall'Historia differente, è il considerar le cose non come sono state, ma in quella guisa che dovrebbono essere state, havendo riguardo più tosto al verisimile in universale che alla verità de'particolari, prima d'ogni altra cosa deve il Poeta avertirse se nella materia, ch'egli prende à trattare v'è avenimento alcuno il quale altrimente essendo successo ò più del verisimile, ò più del mirabile ò per qual si voglia altra cagione, portasse miglior diletto, et tutti i successi, che si fatti trovarà, cioè che meglio in un'altro modo potessero essere avenuti, senza respetto alcuno di vero ò di Historia, à sua voglia uniti et riuniti, e riduca gli accidenti delle cose à quel modo ch'egli giudica migliore, co'l tutto alterato il tutto finto accompagnando"10 (30, p. 10). And Piccolomini giving as he believed the pure essence of the Aristotelian doctrines stated the matter as follows: "Puo un poeta tragico, preso che gli hà una materia da far tragedia, & già da altri prima trattata, come ch'ella commune stia, & quasi offerta, & proposta à chiunque la voglia usare; ò vero non trattata per anco da chi si sia, & fatta à lui come cosa sua privata; può, dico, doppo che prima l'hà nel suo universale ordinata, & formata; darle poi alcune cose di sui; & spetialmente l'annodamento, & il discioglimento, & per conseguente il riconoscimento, & la peripetia se la favola sarà piegata, & con queste tai cose vien'egli ad appropriar'à se, & à farsi come sua, quella materia, che prima era commune" (5, p. 258). These and other similar utterances show that Chapelain did not lack for precedents, when he insisted: "C'est principalement en ces rencontres que le poète a droit de préférer la vraisemblance à la vérité. Que s'il est obligé de traiter une matière historique de cette nature, c'est alors qu'il la doit réduire aux termes de la bienséance, sans avoir égard à la vérité, et qu'il la doit plutôt changer toute entière que de lui laisser rien qui soit incompatible avec les règles de son art, lequel se proposant l'idée universelle des choses les épure des défauts et des irrégularités particulières que l'histoire par la sévérité de ses lois est contrainte d'y souffrir." The

<sup>30</sup> The thirty items devoted to Tasso's works in the manuscript catalogue of Chapelain's library testify to the admiration in which the Italian poet was held by the French Academician.

possible changes which Corneille might have introduced in his subject matter follow (p. 468f.). And then comes the statement which Lanson terms: "la pensée persistante de l'Académie sur le Cid11 Mais le plus expédient eût été de n'en point faire de poème dramatique, puisqu'il étoit trop connu pour l'altérer en un point si essentiel, et de trop mauvais exemple pour l'exposer à la vue du peuple sans l'avoir auparavant rectifié" (p. 469). It was precisely the censure passed by Cavalcanti upon the author of the Canace: "Ne vi vale figliuolo mio studio, ò diligenza, che vi si usi, per farsi honore, quando i soggietti delle compositioni sono come vi habbiamo mostrato costui per comporre lodevole tragedie, perche come le scelerate attioni . . . non sono da lodare per modo alcuno, cosi que' poeti che si danno ad imitarle non ponno conseguire alcuna loda, perche qual hora si pigliano queste attioni ree per fondamento, ciò che vi si edifica sopra è biasimevole, & quanto più il poeta s'affatica d'ornare simile soggietti, tanto si mostra di minore giuditio" (50, p. 53).

Scudéry having raised the point that the use of the word fabula to designate the tragic plot was proof that it should not be taken from history, Chapelain replied: "En cela nous estimons qu'ils n'ont pas assez considéré quel est le sens d'Aristote, qui sans doute par ce mot de fable n'a voulu dire autre chose que le sujet, et n'a point entendu ce qui nécessairement devoit être fabuleux, mais seulement ce qu'il n'importoit pas qui fût vrai pourvu qu'il fût vraisemblable." (p. 469). This was a common enough definition, so for example, in Beni's commentary: "Fabulae vero nomen significat Aristotili non praecise rem fictam & mendacem, aut apologum, aut fabellam, cujusmodi Aesopicae sunt ac similes; ac rerum inventarum coagmentationem" (1, p. 43).

Continuing the discussion, Chapelain cites a passage from Aristotle to show the poet's right to invent details, and comments upon it in a way quite reminiscent of Castelvetro (2, p. 189), Summo (28, p. 46) and others. Thereupon he adduces this additional proof. "Nous sommes confirmés dans cette créance par le plus religieux des poètes, qui corrompant l'histoire a fait Didon peu chaste, sans autre nécessité que d'embellir son poème d'un épisode admirable" (p. 469f.). Now in the contest over the *Pastor Fido*, Paolo

<sup>&</sup>quot; Corneille, Paris, 1905, p. 60.

Beni had found himself in a similar position in defending Guarini against Malacreta who insisted that the Arcadia of the *Pastor Fido* differs from the Arcadia represented by Pausanias: "percioche mentre si conviene nella regione, sito, monti, fiumi, e genti, il resto stà in arbitrio del Poeta; il quale tutta volta che non esca del verisimile può andar' alterando e fingendo. . . . E per tanto finse Virgilio che Enea partita da Troia dopo lunghe navigationi trascorresse in Affrica avanti di pervenire al Latio, che Didone s'innamorasse d'Enea, & al fin per lui s'occidesse, e cose tali, le quali in somma (se si presta fede a Dionisio Alicarnasso, & altri molti) non tutti sono vere ma parte finte" (52, p. 221.).<sup>12</sup>

Chapelain then takes up Scudéry's criticisms against the many actions crowded into the space of twenty-four hours. On the main point he is bound to agree with the Cid's critic; since Chimène is made to relax in her demands for vengeance and finally consent to marry Rodrigue: a very palpable violation of the doctrine of the conformity and consistency of morals habits as established above (p. 468). But as for Scudéry's other point Chapelain is by no means so certain. Scudéry has indeed correctly stated the Aristotelian doctrine: "Mais l'application ne nous en semble pas juste, lorsqu'il explique cette grandeur (du poème dramatique) plutôt du temps que des matières, et qu'il veut que le Cid soit d'une grandeur excessive, parce qu'il comprend en un jour des actions qui se sont faites dans le cours de plusieurs années. . . . Ainsi, tant qu'il ait prouvé que le sujet est trop diffus pour n'embarasser pas la mémoire, nous n'estimons point qu'il pèche en excès de grandeur, pour avoir ramassé en un seul jour les actions de plusieurs années, s'il est vraisemblable qu'elles puissent être avenues en un jour" (p. 471).

<sup>32</sup> Chapelain admits that Virgil has been criticized, but it is not so much on account of the anachronism as: "d'avoir altéré l'histoire de bien en mal . . . en diffamant une personne qui avoit mieux aimé mourir que de vivre diffamée" (p. 470). Now Corneille might have improved upon Virgil "s'il eût corrigé les mauvaises moeurs qui se trouvent dans l'histoire" (de Chimène). In similar fashion Beni considered Virgil inferior to Tasso: "per essersi Enea lasciato indurre da Didone ad atto dishonesto, con porgere indegno essempio al giovinetto Ascanio" (37, p. 14). Castelvetro held that the Aeneas-Dido episode: "è vitiosa, perche è attione reale falsa, & riprovata dall' historia nel modo, & nel tempo. Nel modo perche Didone per conservamento dell' honestà s'uccise, volendo servare la fede al marito morto anchora, nel tempo perche Enea non pote capitare in Africa, che Didone fosse viva" (2, p. 219).

Chapelain found plenty of precedents for this decision. So Castelvetro, while stating the ideal measure for the time of an action: "quanto corse in simile caso, o correrebbe, mentre veramente avenne, o avennisse" (2, p. 163), declares that "Aristotle, passa a volere trovare la grandezza della favola, in quanto si comprende con la mente & si ritiene nella memoria" (p. 170). Such was also the interpretation of Piccolomini: così ancora convenevol grandezza, cioè ne troppo breve, ne troppo lunga, dee la tragica favola havere, per esser compresa dalla memoria" (5, p. 128). It was also Tasso's doctrine: "Grande è convenevolmente quel Poema, in cui la memoria non si perde nè si smarisce (48, p. 13).

As for Scudéry's contention that Corneille had committed a fault against the rules in bringing the actions of several years into his poem, Chapelain held that the poet is free: "de les rapprocher, si par ce moyen il peut rendre son ouvrage plus merveilleux. Il ne faut point d'autre preuve de cette doctrine que l'exemple de Virgile dans sa Didon, qui selon tous les chronologistes naquit plus de deux cents ans après Enée, si l'on ne veut encore ajouter celui de Tasse dans le Renaud de sa Hiérusalem, lequel ne pouvoit être né qu'à peine lorsque mourut Godefroy de Bouillon" (p. 471). In the Vindicationes Virgilianae, Galuzzi, after discussing at length the anachronism of Virgil, concludes as follows: "decernendum est, non debere Virgilium reprehendi, quod Didonem illo tempore dicat, quo tempore nondum erat; cum eo sit usus comminiscendi jure, quod communis illi vulgarisque poetarum licentia concedebat . . . satis est, si fidem habeat apud multitudinem ac vulgus" (10, p. 46).13 And in like manner the reference to the anachronism, committed by Tasso, recalls a remark in the latter's Apologia: "Non importa se Rinaldo, il quale fù settanta, ò ottanta anni dopo l'impresa di Gierusalemme, sia numerato frà i principali, che passarono all'acquisto,

<sup>18</sup> The passage of the Sentiments cited above, where Chapelain points out how Virgil: "a feint son Enée zélé pour le salut de sa patrie, et victorieux de tous les héros du pays latin quoiqu'il se trouve des historiens qui rapportent que ce fut l'un des traîtres qui vendirent aux Grecs," etc. (p. 470), seems to go back very clearly to Galuzzi: "Quibus ita positis, aiunt aliqui, vel falso, vel minus congruenter à Virgilio dici pium Aeneam. Quantum enim attinent ad propriam illam notionem pietatis, quae officium patriae tribuit, & cultum civibus, Aeneas miene debuit effingi pius, cum Troiam ima (imà) cum Antenore prodiderit Graeis urbisque portas hostibus aperuit, ut rem litteris consignarunt historici," etc. (p. 49f.).

perche l'alteratione non si fà nell'attione istessa, o nell'essenza sua; ma nelle circonstanze, che sono attribuite al negotio, ò della persona" (48, p. 177).

Chapelain concurs fully in Scudéry's violent arraignment of the action of Chimène in consenting to marry the man who had slain her father. "Ces pernicieux exemples rendent l'ouvrage notablement défectueux, et s'écartent du but de la poésie qui veut être utile. Ce n'est pas que cette utilité ne se puisse produire par des moeurs qui soient mauvaises; mais pour la produire par de mauvaises moeurs, il faut qu'à la fin elles soient punies, et non récompensées comme elles le sont en cet ouvrage" (p. 472). This precept of the poetic art is thus stated by Robortelli: "nam antequam conscribat tragoediam poeta; secum ipse rem totam, atque actionem considerat, disponit; ac dividit; aliisque personis statuit felicitatem attribuendam esse, aliis infelicitatem, non pro arbitratu quidem suo; sed pro personarum dignitate, ac moribus; nam probi felices, improbi infelices vero infelices effingi debent; neque enim imitationis ratio sibi constaret, si improbi felices, probi infelices exprimeretur, fieretque hoc diis, hominibusque repugnantibus" (6, p. 110; see also p. 174, and Castelvetro, 2, p. 122). Nisieli, after maintaining that utility is the true purpose of poetry, sets up as the rule by which he is to condemn many a poem and especially the Pastor Fido: "Ripugnanti a questo fine poetico saranno i vizi impuniti, le virtù conculcate . . . e altre impietà, che sono scandalose a'buoni, e incitative di male in peggio a'cattivi" (22, I, p. 132).

Chapelain concludes his outburst of righteous indignation by pointing out that Rodrigue shows an excess of zeal in killing the Count whereas he only needed to defeat him in order to secure satisfaction for the insult offered his father. And so: "il fait des choses qu'il n'étoit obligé de faire, et sans nécessité cesse d'être amant pour paroître seulement homme d'honneur." And this in contrast to Chimène, in whom: "le soin qu'elle doit avoir de son honneur cède entièrement au souvenir qu'elle a de son amour" (p. 473). While this point may very well have been due to a rigid application of the propriety doctrines stated above, it is interesting to note a similar criticism made by Tasso on the reversal of sex-decorum in the Orlando Furioso. "Ruggiero è amato più che amante, & Brada-

mante ama più che non è amata, & segue Ruggiero, & cerca di trarlo di prigione & fà tutti quegli uffici, & quelle operationi, che parebbono piùtosto convenevoli a cavalliero, per acquistar l'amore della sua donna," and much more on the same order (48, pp. 132ff.).

Finally: "Si maintenant on nous allègue pour sa défense que cette passion de Chimène a été le principal agrément de la pièce et ce qui lui a excité le plus d'applaudissements, nous répondrons que ce n'est pas pource qu'elle est bonne, mais pource que, quelque mauvaise qu'elle soit elle est heureusement exprimée. Ses puissants mouvemens, joints à ses vives et naïves expressions, ont bien pu faire estimer ce quien en effet seroit estimable, si c'étoit une pièce séparée et qui ne fût point une partie d'un tout qui ne la peut souffrir; en un mot, elle a assez d'éclat et de charmes pour avoir fait oublier les règles à ceux qui ne les savent guère bien, ou à qui elles ne sont guère présentes" (p. 473). An absolutely smilar point of view is presented in the Settimo Discorso where Faustino Summo is comparing the Orlando Furioso with the regular epics. First of all: "concesso per hora . . . che maggior diletto rechi a nostri huomini il Furioso dell'Ariosto che l'Italia Liberata del Trissino, o pur l'Illiade o l'Odissea di Homero" (28, p. 52). This is due, Summo thinks, to the beauty of the imitation in certain details and episodes of which some are to be commended and others not: "alcuni altri son verisimili, il rimanente poi, o la maggior parte di loro sono vani discorsi, ne operano cosa alcuna in quel poema che necessario e verisimil sia, se ben per altro sono bellissimi & artificiosissimi, & frutti d'un grande ingegno. Per cio stimo io più giuditioso il Trissino, il quale più se ne guardò. Et se non è così accetto hoggi di al mondo communemente cio torna anzi a gloria sua, che a biasmo alcuno, perche egli non s'affatico per dover piacere al vulgo ignorante, ma a pochi intendenti & giuditiosi. Et se valesse la ragion del dover piacere a più per esser gloriosi Platone & Aristotile e tanti altri famosi harrebbono gli ultimi luoghi. ridicolosa a dire. . . . Et in vero l'Ariosto è miracoloso nelle descrittioni delle cose particolari, de che egli ragiona e discorre. Onde già solea dire come ben referì il Signor Giason Nores contra il Veratto, il giuditissimo Triphon Gabriele parlando del Furioso dell'Ariosto, che le sue parti separate eran bellissimi, ma il tutto congionto era bruttissimo" (p. 54).

Chapelain now comes to what he calls Scudéry's "anatomie du poème" and it is henceforth a question of fitting the Cid to the procrustean bed which he has prepared for it in these general doctrinal considerations. To begin with, Scudéry objected to the first scene (original edition), because the count had judged too favorably of Don Sanche who was to show himself such a weakling later in the play. Chapelain finds that as this weakness had not been revealed the count could have had no reasons for judging otherwise. On the other hand he endorsed Scudéry's claim that Elvire, attendant of Chimène, was a person of too lowly station to receive the confidences of the count on the pending election of a preceptor for the prince of Castile. This point was derived from the very rigid construction put upon Aristotle's innocent remark that the tragic actions of his time centered in a few families. Whence Castelvetro insisted that: "le persone della tragedia sono reali, & hanno gli spiriti maggiori, & sono altiere" (22, p. 222) and Robortelli: "Reges tantum, heroesque nobilissimi inferantur, eorumque actiones argumentum poetis prebeant tragicis" (6, p. 132). And so the rule developed till it became, in the words of Bernardo Tasso: "La tragedia è un poema grande e magnifico, nel quale s'introducono solamente persone illustri, capitani d'eserciti, Eroi, Regi, e Dei" (29, p. v).

Scudéry's next criticism was directed against the count, who is represented as a fanfaron or braggart captain of the farce. Chapelain quibbling over the meaning of the words, and following the oft-stated doctrine of the unchangeability of historical characters, decided that the count was not a fanfaron in the proper sense of the words since he was represented in history as one of the most valiant captains of Spain, but still: "les hyperboles excessives, et qui sont véritablement de théâtre . . . nous font croire que le nom de fanfaron lui est bien dû" (p. 474). Nisieli had sounded a warning in this particular which was applicable here: "le persone (della tragedia) non debbono alzarsi tanto à volo col parlare altiero e gonfio, che le parole sieno piene di vento, e senza efficacia, e sostanza alcuna, il che deriva propriamente dall'affetazione" (22, III, p. 67).

Scudéry then passed to the third scene (original edition), contending that Elvire's report of her conversation with the count was

superfluous and of the kind that are properly given behind the scenes. Ingegneri stated the doctrine upon this point very clearly: "Il primo atto è mero prologo, & ha solamente à proporre gli antecedenti successi, & le occasioni del fatto, & della favola, che si rappresenta... non ha dubbio... che nel principio ogni scena habbia persone nove, le quali vadano anco instruendo il teatro di quelle cose, che possono servire alla perfetta cognitione de gli avvenimenti che s'hanno à vedere" (18, p. 27). In conformity with this doctrine, Chapelain holds this scene: "même nécessaire pour faire paroître Chimène dès le commencement de la pièce, pour faire connoître au Spectateur la passion qu'elle a pour Rodrigue, et pour faire entendre que don Diègue la doit demander en mariage pour son fils" (p. 474).

Corneille's critic next condemns, as episodical characters, the Infanta, Don Sanche and Don Arias, and also pointed out the impropriety of the Infanta's love for Rodrigue who was inferior to her in birth. Upon this last point naturally Chapelain was forced to concur in recognition of the doctrine of the propriety of manners. The whole subject of episodes had been very widely discussed and it was a subject upon which there was practical unanimity. So Ingegneri held that the characters ought to be: "tutti tanto necessarii & (per così dire) operativi nella favola, che levatone un solo, & sia qual si voglia dilloro, tutto'l caso si venisse à distruggere" (18, p. 14); and, with details which are suggestive in the connection, Giasone di Nores: "La favola tragica ultimamente non deve essere troppo Episodica, ma che si contenti solamente di quei pochi, che le sono verissimili, & necessarii per far nascer la tramutation di fortuna intrecciata con peripetia & con agnitione, come era necessario che Sophocle introducesse l'episodio del nuncio di Corinto che diede Edipo a Merope & a Polipo per far che Edipo si certificasse di non esser figliuolo di Polipo & di Merope, e che parimente introducesse il servo, a cui egli fu consegnato da Laio," etc. (23, p. 18). Chapelain's attitude is quite in harmony with these statements of the pure The Infanta contributes nothing to the conclusion of the marriage between Rodrigue and Chimène and cannot be approved. Don Sanche is Rodrigue's rival and fights a duel with him upon which the marriage hinges, accordingly he is restored to good standing. In the case of Don Arias the matter is not quite so clear. Nevertheless all poets have introduced royal counsellors and besides he serves as referee in the duel, so he may be allowed to pass (p. 474f.). Scudéry concluded his criticism on this part of the play by railing at Corneille for not having had the king put the principals of the first dispute in the *Cid* under guard in accordance with the custom of the times. This was, as a matter of fact, the custom, and so Chapelain could only agree, for doctrinaires from Daniello on had been repeating that the poet must know the: "usanze, e i modi del viver delle genti, i costumi et per dir brevemente tutte quelle cose che d'intorno alla practica consistono" (9, p. 34).

Scudéry thereupon passes to the third scene of the second act, in which Chimène, in the presence of Elvire and the Infante, gives voice to her forebodings, based upon her conviction that Rodrigue, being a gentleman (gentilhomme), could not overlook the affront offered his father. The doctrine of the consistency of manners forced an endorsement of the criticism; because solicitude for her father should have been the paramount interest in Chimène, introduced as a dutiful daughter, and this should have left no place for any consideration of what might come out of it for Rodrigue. Moreover as the mistress of Rodrigue, she should have had sufficient confidence in him to believe that he would forego something of his feelings upon the point of honor for her sake. The same doctrine enabled Chapelain to defend Corneille against Scudéry, who claimed that Chimène should have been shedding tears in her apartment, instead of coming so soon to demand vengeance for the death of her father. Chapelain cannot agree, because: "soit qu'elle voulût perdre Rodrigue, soit qu'elle ne le voulût pas, elle étoit toujours obligée de témoigner qu'elle en avoit l'intention, et de partir au même instant afin de le poursuivre" (p. 476).

The critic of the *Cid* belabored with especial severity the third act, which he declared to be solely responsible for the false reputation of the play. He declares that all judicious persons are horrified at seeing Rodrigue appear in the apartments of Chimène; his sword still red with the blood of the man in whose house he was. Chapelain, to be sure, finds the proceeding rather strange, but justifies it on the main point at issue: "car un amant peut être agité d'une passion

si violente, qu'encore qu'il ait fort offensé sa maîtresse, il ne pourra s'empêcher de la voir" (p. 476). This recalls in rather striking fashion a passage in the Spaniard, Lopez Pinciano. "Toda passion grande turba l'animo de manera, que a vezas no sabe lo que se pretende el dueño; y en tal estado la firmeza y constancia es no tenger ninguna, porque como el hombre està perturbatado con la esperanca, el temor, la ira, y los demas afectos, es impossible tener al animo en un lugar" (20, p. 358). Scudéry also insisted that Chimène should have been surrounded by friends in her affliction, but neglected to point out how improbable it was that Rodrigue could have arrived in her apartments wihout having been intercepted by the friends or relatives of the count. Chapelain supplies the deficit but condones these two cases of improbability on the ground that Chimène may well have wished to be left alone with her grief; and that Rodrigue might have made his way to her under cover of the darkness and the confusion caused by the sudden taking off of the count. It was a decision quite in accordance with the opinion of the authorities as stated by Castelvetro, who, after dividing apparently impossible actions into four classes, concludes: "ma la seconda maniera d'impossibilita, che habbiamo detta essere di dio, & la quarta, che habbiamo detta essere degli huomini, hanno luogo nella fittione delo poeta, & si devono ricevere, quando n'appare la ragione, anchora che verisimilmente paressono cose impossibili ad avenire, & non fossono usate di spesso avenire" (2, p. 608). But never would a well born young lady usurp the place of the public executioner, so Rodrigue's proposal to this effect falls outside both categories of the marvellous, hence does not fall within the province of poetic imitation (cf. p. 467). Rodrigue's lack of spirit in saying that he will seek death at the hands of the public executioner, if Chimène refuses his request, his bluntness in defending his action, Chimène's lack of natural affection in justifying her lover are contrary again to the doctrine of the propriety of manners and must be condemned. an extension of the same doctrine Chapelain criticized Corneille for the action of the king in having Chimène escorted to her apartments by Don Sanche instead of her attendant Elvire. It was in accordance with the practice of the Italian doctrinaires who were great sticklers upon such points; so, for example, Castelvetro accuses Virgil of having committed one of the inexcusable errors in the poet's craft: "quando fa, che Didone, dimenticatasi delle donne, che erano in su la spiaggia d'Africa, non le'nvita nella citta, ne provedo loro ne d'albergo, ne d'altro" (2, p. 507). Scudéry had overlooked this point but he had not failed to call attention to the incivility shown by Don Diègue in the fifth scene when he left his friends in the house to go in search of his son. This however was, according to Chapelain, to be condoned on the same reason that he excused the visit of Rodrigue to the apartments of Chimène, the father was perhaps too perturbed to attend to these small matters of etiquette (p. 478). In fact if there was any incivility here, it was rather on the part of the friends, who allowed the old man to go out into the night in search of his son; but, on the whole, it would be better to dismiss this criticism, although it had been introduced with "grâce et esprit." Scudéry also objected to the large number of these friends and insisted that they had evidently been brought together by the poet, less to avenge Don Diègue, than to serve Rodrigue against the Moors. Castelyetro furnished a means for determining this point: "La mutatione, & la riconoscenza, se deono essere lodevoli, deono essere prodotti dalla constitutione della favola, cio è le cagioni della mutatione & della riconoscenza deono procedere dalle cose interne della favola, ordinate a contrario fine o delle cose di fuori, ordinate a diverso fine" (2, p. 242). Accordingly Chapelain praises the poet in this particular: "car une des beautés du poème dramatique est que ce qui a été imaginé et introduit pour une chose serve a la fin pour une autre" (p. 479).

The first scene of the fourth act is defended on the ground that Chimène is not to be censured for manifesting her love, as she does here, although she must be when she yields to it as she does in other places. Scudéry's criticism of the second scene, in which the Infanta appears, is endorsed, the scene being episodical. In the third scene the critic of the Cid was astonished that the king's orders for the protection of the city were so badly obeyed. Chapelain pointed out that it was quite within the bounds of probability that good orders should not be carried out; the real difficulty was that the king had given no such orders, thereby showing himself deficient in the qualities of a king. It was a matter upon which the doctrinaires insisted

much, so for example, Nisieli: "Fu sapientissimo Ercole in Seneca peroche non corre a vendicarsi di Lico tiranno prima che non establisca Teseo per guardia della casa e de'suoi" (22, II, p. 39f.). On the other hand, Homer: "pecca puerilmente," when he represents the crafty Ulysses arriving home and indulging in games and intercourse with his wife whereby: "i nemici doveano per ogni verisimile umano dar fuoco al palagio, e morte a Penelope e a tutta la famiglia sua" (*Ibid*; see a similar censure of Virgil for having described Aeneas as unarmed on the night of the fall of Troy, III, p. 166).

As a military authority, Scudéry pointed out that it was the custom to block harbors at night with a chain stretched across the entrance: so the descent of the Moors was impossible in any event. Trivialities of this kind were treated with great care by the Italian doctrinaires. So in the course of the discussion over the Pastor Fido. Malacreta considered it impossible that the floods of the river Ladone should have carried off a light thing like a cradle with but a small exposure to the wind, and then deposited it with the child Mirtillo in it upon an island. Paolo Beni had two answers ready which he propounds with imperturbable gravity: In the first place such an occurrence cannot be said to be improbable because it is attested by history (?), the same thing having happened to Romulus and Remus; and, secondly: "l'esperienza mostra, ' io l'ho osservato chiaro, che qualhora gonfiando i fiumi s'innalzano & inondano, sogliono etiandio lungi dalle sponde e ne'campi trasportar alberi, sterpi, & altre cose assai, le quali poi non così facilmente al calar dell'acqua vengon à ridursi al corso del fiume, ma per lo più se ne restano in secco" (52, p. 135). Chapelain's method was equally elephantine. In the earlier manuscript forms of the Sentiments he compares the position of Seville upon the Guadalquivir with that of harbors at Bordeaux. Nantes and Rouen, to arrive at the conclusion that Corneille had not merited the critic's censure upon this point.

Scudéry's contention that the king plays too undignified a role in the fourth scene of this act is not sustained, because other great kings have indulged in similar practices; but Chimène for trying to conceal her love for Rodrigue, after having said that she proposed to let it be known, violates again the doctrine of consistency. Chape-

lain then agrees with Scudéry that the king's decree which closes the act is very unjust and that it is in addition very worthy of censure because it forms the solution of the plot. The rules were rigid upon this point. Compare, for example, this typical statement in Castelvetro: "è cosa manifesta, che le solutioni delle favole deono avenire per la favola stessa, cio è, che l'uscita de pericoli, & che i cessamenti delle difficulta sopravenute nella favola deono avenire per lo mezzo delle cose della favola, che di necessita, o di verisimilitudine segui-

tino dopo i pericoli, o le difficulta" (2, p. 332).

In the first scene of the fifth act, Rodrigue's return to the apartments of Chimène in broad daylight is more improbable hence more worthy of being censured than his first visit portraved in the third act; while Chimène's conduct is criticized unfavorably as inconsistent with what she had resolved to do. Scenes two and three being episodical are condemned. But scene four is defended as it shows Chimène's anxiety during the duel and serves to rehabilitate her character; she declares her resolution not to relax in her efforts to have her father avenged, that is, her action here conforms to the proprieties. In the following scene the short space of time given to the duel, the long delay of Don Sanche in acquainting Chimène with the outcome, are condemned, as contrary to the doctrine of probability, while the reproaches which she heaps upon her champion are contrary to the laws of propriety (p. 481). The last and crowning offense is that she consents to marry Rodrigue for no other reason than her passion and the unjust sentence of the king. a clear violation of the rule as stated by Castelvetro: "Convenga ne costumi, si come nella constitutione delle cose cercare sempre la necessita, o la verisimilitudine, & che questo avenga dopo questo o di necessita, o di verisimilitudine" (2, p. 332).

Scudéry's brief criticism of the stage fitness of the *Cid* is endorsed, for it is evident to all, that it is badly understood in this play and a same scene represents several places. This is, to be sure, a common defect among plays of the time, but the poet should have taken as great pains to observe this rule as he had taken to conform to the unity of time (p. 482). The doctrinaires have comparatively very little to say upon this point (for a general discussion see Ingegneri, 18, p. 17) and this may be one reason why this point is

passed over so lightly in the Sentiments.

#### IV. THE CONCLUSION

After the Remarques sur les vers, which we pass over for lack of space, comes the conclusion. The Academy after dwelling upon the embarrassing position in which it has found itself goes on to insist that in the end the correctness of its judgments will be admitted. If detractors will listen to their reason: "Cette même raison leur dira ce que nous leur disons, sitôt qu'elle pourra reprendre sa première liberté; et secouant le joug qu'elle s'étoit laissé mettre par surprise, elle éprouvera qu'il n'y a que les fausses et imparfaites beautés qui soient proprement de courtes tyrannies; car les passions violentes, bien exprimées, font souvent en ceux qui les voient, une partie de l'effet qu'elles font en ceux qui les ressentent véritablement. Elles ôtent à tous la liberté de l'esprit, et font que les uns se plaisent à voir représenter les fautes que les autres se plaisent à commettre. Ce sont ces puissants mouvements qui ont tiré des spectateurs du Cid cette grande approbation, et qui doivent aussi la faire excuser" (p. 499f.). We have seen very similar statements in Beni and Ingegneri; Faustino Summo uses quite similar language when he gives as one of the reasons why the Orlando Furioso has appeared to give more delight than the Italia Liberata of Trissino and the poems of Homer: "perche nel Furioso si leggono amori, cavalerie, venture, & incanti, & simili altre frascherie, & inventioni più vaghe & accomodate all'orechie, & al gusto de gli huomini volgari, i quali seguoni il senso e'l diletto suo, che non son le cose del Trissino & di Homero, le quali s'hanno ad ascoltare coll'orecchie dell'intelletto, & la ragione sola partecipa del loro diletto & piacere" (28, p. 53). But after all, suppose one were to allege that these rules, so much insisted upon, have not always been followed by the ancients themselves, and that in any case, Corneille should be excused since he only reproduced some of the mistakes of Guillen de Castro. This plea had an answer provided for it in the commentary of Castelvetro: "Conciosia cosa che i poeti antichi non havessono niuno avanti loro, che loro havesse mostrata la buona via del poetare, & fosse stato loro scorta, & per conseguente sieno degni di scusa, se ciascuno di loro non ha havute tutte l'eccellenze insieme della poesia, & se quelle, le quali hanno havute, non sono in sommo grado d'eccellenza. Ma i poeti moderni,

che hanno vedute, quali cose sono commendabili, & quali biasimevoli ne poeti antichi, non solamente deono prendere le parti commendabili loro, ma per loro industria debbono anchora, aggiungendovi perfettione maggiore, migliorarle, & prenderle più commendabili, senza che gli antichi non hebbero l'arte scritta di poesia, secondo la quale potessono regolare, & essaminare i loro poemi, & la quale è proposta hora a poeti moderni, il filo della quale seguendo essi, non possono errare" (2, p. 393f.). And Ingegneri, in answer to the same considerations, declared: "Non è maraviglia, che Terentio, Plauto, Seneca, Eschilo, Euripide, e'l medesimo Sofocle non arrivassero a tempi loro à quel fiore di cognitione di certe cose, & particolarmente d'alcuni decori, de'quali l'età presente può haver molto raffinato il giudicio: senza che varii secoli varie portano con esso loro le consuetudini; & i costumi si mutano colla mutatione delle persone, & in spetie dei Principi, & delle Signorie" (17, p. 6). Such is the conclusion of the Academy: "Il est vrai que celles-là (les fautes des anciens) ne sont presque considérées qu'avec révérence, d'autant que les unes, étant faites devant les règles, sont nées libres et hors de leur jurisdiction, et que les autres, par une longue durée, ont comme acquis une prescription légitime. Mais cette faveur, qui à peine met à couvert ces grands hommes, ne passe point jusques à leurs successeurs. Ceux qui viennent après eux héritent bien de leurs richesses, mais non pas de leurs privilèges, et les vices d'Euripide et de Sénèque ne sauroient faire approuver ceux de Guillen de Castro" (p. 500).

It would have been an easy matter to at least quintuple the citations in the above study. Those which are given are nearly always chosen from three or four to a dozen of very similar wording; and then there are a number of minor details which have been passed over for which it would have been quite as easy to find a precedent as for those which have been treated. It seemed to the writer, that the mosaic of quotations, in which his search among the books possessed by Chapelain resulted, offered ample proof that Les Sentiments de l'Académie Françoise sur le Cid must, in view of its great influence upon French classic literature, be regarded as one of the most considerable vehicles by which Italian literary doctrines and Italian methods of criticism have ever been brought into France.

And in the matter of method the citations offered speak quite as conclusively as they do for the sources of the Academy's judgment. It was a purely logical or geometrical method. It consisted in taking up one detail after another, and pronouncing thereupon without reference to its effect upon the hearer or reader when taken with the context. It was the method which prevailed in all the Italian literary discussions and even the prestige of the Commedia was not enough to save it from the vivisecting processes of the time. So Carriero has no hesitation in undertaking: "sgannar il mondo del commun errore, nel qual si trova, giudicando Dante esser Poeta, con efficaci ragioni ingegnato" (34, p. 1). The following reasons why the Commedia is unworthy of being considered a poem may be taken as typical of many. "Dante adunque si prende per soggetto un sogno, pero non ha alcun imitation d'attione come richiede la Poesia, la conseguenza si prova per l'autorita d'Aristotele (p. 57). . . . Dante finge d'esser guidato da Virgilio all'Inferno e da Catone insieme con esso Virgilio al Purgatorio. Il che non ha punto del verisimile, bench'essendo Virgilio ivi dannato, non poteva indi uscire, ò gir altrove, si come il medesimo dice: lasciate ogni speranza vuoi ch'entrate" (p. 77). And such was the method in the defenses of Dante, and such in the discussions on the Pastor Fido, the Gerusalemme Liberata and the Orlando Furioso, as well as in occasional criticisms embedded in the commentaries and the poeticas. Chapelain assimilated the method is sufficiently proven, even though he had not let fall a very neat statement of it as his ideal method of criticism, in the letter to Balzac of January 15, 1639: "Corneille est icy depuis trois jours et d'abord m'est venu faire un esclaircissement sur le livre de l'Académie pour ou plustost contre le Cid, m'accusant et non sans raison d'en estre le principal auteur. . . . Je l'ay reschauffé et encouragé autant que j'ay peu à se venger et de Scudéry et de sa protectrice (l'Académie) en faisant quelque nouveau Cid qui attire encore les suffrages de tout le monde, et qui monstre que l'art n'est pas ce qui fait la beauté."14

Finally there is abundant evidence of Chapelain's disposition to seek guidance in the works of the Italians. In his Démonstration de la règle des vingt-quatre heures et refutation des objections, of

<sup>14</sup> Lettres de Jean Chapelain, I, p. 367. Paris, 1880.

1630, he cites Giraldi and Paolo Beni. 15 In a letter to Boisrobert, written in 1635, he dwells upon the pains he has taken in reducing a "comédie d'apparat" submitted to his supervision, and which became without doubt La Comédie des Tuileries. "Ie l'av fait," he says, "avec ce soin principalement pour servir Monseigneur (Richelieu) et le divertir de toute l'estendue de mon pouvoir, et ensuitte pour faire voir aux Italiens, qui pensent seuls posséder les sciences et les arts en leur pureté, et qui nous traittent de barbares qu'encore y a-t-il quelqu'un en France qui peut ce qu'ils peuvent."16 And lastly in a letter to Balzac of June 13, 1637, in which he announces the Academy's intervention in the affair of the Cid. "Il est bien vray, entre nous, que le Cid se peut dire heureux d'avoir esté traitté par un François et en France, où la finesse de la poésie du théâtre n'est point encore conneue. En Italie, il eust passé pour barbare et il n'y a point d'Académie qui ne l'eust banni des confins de sa jurisdiction; ce qui a donné beau jeu à M. de Scudéry, et corival de Corneille de luy objecter les fautes que vous verrés remarquées dans le volume que je vous envoye."17

COLBERT SEARLES

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Charles Arnaud, Les Théories Dramatiques au XVII<sup>o</sup> Siècle, p. 346. Paris, 1888.

<sup>16</sup> Lettres, I, p. 89f.

<sup>18</sup> Lettres, I, p. 156. Cf. Tallemant de Réaux, Historiettes, II, p. 488 f. Paris, 1862.

#### BECERRO DE BENEVIVERE

### THIRD PART, CONTINUED

(Continued from volume II, p. 303)

THE remaining leaves of the MS. contain a version in Castilian of the Rules of the Order of Santiago. It will readily be seen that the codex has been much mutilated, several folios lost and the surviving ones in disorder. Furthermore, f. 19 Recto was part of a theological treatise, a commentary on Deuteronomy, which leaf having its other side blank was utilised by the copyist of the "Stablimientos" to complete a part of his work. This stray leaf may be approximately dated 1170–80, that is to say 50–60 years earlier than the transcription of the Spanish text.

There is no surplus of Spanish texts of the Thirteenth Century, and prose representing the Diocese of Palencia is certainly very rare. The editor here commits this opusculum to the specialists in Old Spanish for their appreciation and discussion.

15 Ro.

7 den les las necessarias cosas segund la facilidad dela casa. E si de alguna orden fue- ren por tres dias mais ornable mientre sean tenidos. que los otros freyres. 7 si demandado de so ma- estro andidieren. 7 en nostra casa quisieren morar: denles las necessarias cosas. assi cuemo alos | freyres de la casa. Elos pobres de christo assi com ermanos sean recebidos. 7 denles las co- sas necessarias 'ada dia por el Apostoligo ala romana ecclesia .iij. uezes la oracion segund el poder dela meson. Sequitur de oratione del pater noster digan. Por nostro maestro que dios le(de) saber 7 poder. 7 gracia de gouernar á aquellos quel son dados | a honor 7 accescemiento de uida durable. digan .i. pater noster. Pro pace ecclesie .i. pater noster | Pro nostro rege .i. pater. noster. Pro nostro episcopo i. pater. noster. Por la patriarcha. 7 deffensores de Jherusalem. | i. pater noster. Pro regibus. 7 principibus. 7 deffensoribus. 7 omnibus sancte ecclesie prelatis .i. pater noster. | Pro cunctis insancta religionis observantia deo deditis cuiuscumque sint ordinis i. pater noster. Por | todo el pueblo christiano i. pater noster. Pro benefactoribus 7 malefactoribus suis .i. pater. noster. ut | bene-

factores á deo remunerentur 7 malefactores convertantur. Pro fructibus terre .i. pater. noster. | Qui omnes faciunt. .xxiij. pater noster. Et. aquolibet fratrum omni die debent dici. A matuti- nas cada dia se leuanten quanto mas ayna oyeren la campana de su ecclesia. si fueren sa- nos ó non fueren trabaiados de grandes labores. Primera mientre commiende se adios 7 | ala gloriosa sancta maria. 7 alos bien auenturados apostolos, ásanct Pedro, 7 asant Paulo, 7 á sant Jago. 7 desent átodos los sanctos, en quanta humildat pudieren digan .iij. pater noster. en | honor de sancta trinidad. 7 por salut de sos almas. Silencio tengan enla ecclesia mientre | que el seruimiento de dios se fiziere, pocas cosas de necessidad fablen, enlas oras de sancta Maria | deuen estar en pie en la ecclesia. si non fuere enla propria fiesta, enlas otras oras al Venite. 7 al hymno. 7 á Magnificat. 7 à Benedictus. 7 siempre quando dixieren Gloria patri. enclinen las cabezas: al altar. Mas cumlas oras del dia non pudieren ovr. digan .i. pater. noster. fincando los yno- | ios. si non fuere fiesta. Por maytinas deldia. 7 de sancta maria XXVI. pater. noster. dicant. Por cada una delas oras, assi del dia como de sancta maria. por prima. 7 tercia. 7 VIa. 7 IXa. digan | .vi. pater. noster. Mas enel empezamiento de todas las oras digan .i. pater. noster. fincando los ynoios, assi como dixiemos. 7 depues conpiezen cum deus in adiutorium meum intende. 7 gloria patri tro ala fin. 7 enla fin decada un pater noster, digan gloria patri toda. Porlas | uesperas deldia. 7 de sancta Maria .X. pater noster. 7 assi las conpiezen. 7 finen, como dixiemos

15 Vo.

# Quorum ordo ita incipit

Aqui se compieçan los establimientos de la orden de la caualeria de ! sancti iacobi que toda en tres cosas esta. Auedes a saber en coniugal castidad. en obediencia guardar. en ueuir sin proprio. Mas en coniugal castidad semeien alos alos ancianos padres, en ueuir sin peccado. que meior cosa es casar que séér quemados enlos fuegos del infi- erno. nos non podemos séér meiores de nostros antecessores. 7 nos non | poduemos complir. lo que ellos non pudieron sufrir. Por la qual cosa se esfuerçan a plazer al criador de todas las cosas, y contienden en perseuerar en so seruicio. Mas en obediencia guardar quieren mere- cer. la gracia daquel que fue obdient al padre tro ala muert. ca la uir- tud de obediencia mays sea acceptable al nostro sennor que sacrificio. En ueuir sin proprio, se esfuerçan asemeiar aquel que todas las cosas | auie. en poder. non auie do meter sue cabeça. 7 nos maguer que | muchas cosas mantengamos segund el dicho del apostol, sea- mos asi como que ninguna cosa non auemos. Aquestas tres cosas son establidas a complimiento de la perfecta caridad, cala perfecta caridad, fue- ras desecha todo el tremor. 7 los auandichos freyres ponen sus perso- | nas 7 sos cosas en diuersos periglos. 7 en muchos martirios. 7 esfuerçan | se áámar a dios con toda su mient. 7 con todas sus fuerças. a su proximo | asi como asi mismos. Ende son gouernadores de la perfecta caridad. | id est deus. E los stabilimientos de los freyres assi compieçan. Alos prela- | dos de sancta ecclesia. den honor 7 reuerencia. atodos los fideles de christo. | monges 7 calonges. templeros. hospitaleros. 7 alos ministros del | sancto sepulcro. ca todos los delas ordenes de qual orden quequier que sean. se- | gund la prouidencia del maestre. 7 segund la habundancia de la meson. | les fagan aiutorio. Mas los huespedes con toda alegria sean recebidos.

16 Ro.

Mas silos freyres fueren sobre moros ó enotros negocios dela casa. 7 sus mugeres quisieren séér enla claus- tra conlas freyras: sean recebidas. 7 tengan las ondrada mientre tro a que sos maridos uengan. 7 aquesto sea enprouidencia del maestro. Aquelas mugeres aqui transieren sos maridos esten enlos monesterios. Esi alguna bona uida fiziere. 7 | fueras del monesterio, quisiere remanecer si el maestro por bien lo uiere remanezca. 7 si alguna quisier casa digalo a so maestro. ó áso comendador. que con so mandado se case. 7 segund que dixo el apostoligo, muerto el uaron | suelta es la mugier dela ley del uaron, con quiquier case, tanto enel nostro E de perdon nos dize quiero | las biudas mancebas casar. 7 que engendren fijos 7 non dar occasion al diable. 7 aquesto mismo conuiene á guar- dar delos uarones. Aquella que non quisiere casar. more enel monesterio. 7 si fijas ouiere sean nodridas consigo en la orden en uirginidad. 7 sean guardadas fasta .xv. annos. 7 apprendan letras. 7 si remanecer quisieren enla orden: sean enprouidentia del maestro, si non departan se con aquello queles pertenece. Mas el fijo que enla orden | nasciere : si so padre quisiere sea nodrido enla orden fasta .xv. annos. 7 su partdela heredad sirua ala casa. Mas si heredad non ouiere: sea nodrido dela communal cosa. tro á xv. annos. 7 si estonze quisiere remanezer en | la orden sea enla prouidencia del maestro. 7 si non quisier den le aquello quel perteneze. stablido es que nul freyre non deserede so fijo.

E si algun freyre demandado desu maestro en su tierra morar: segun el establimiento dela orden biua. | 7 sea obedient á su maestro en todas las cosas. Cada un freyre todaquello que ásu casa perteneze bienlo | guarde. que non faga y danno. ninlo consienta fazer. mas todos entiendan al prouechoso dela orden. con orna. Si | algun freyre danno fiziere ala meson. sea emendado segund la prouidentia de su maestro. (ó de so comendador, inter lineas.) o de so cabildo. 7 non | tansolament es peccado. mas enqualquequiere otro. do fuere | trobado del maestro. assi comolo ouiere

fecho: | assi sea emendado. si non se quisiere castigar. Non murmurien entressi contra su maestre. ó contra su commendador. | (M) as aquel que uiere. ó de su maestro. ó de su comendador. ó de so freyre alguna cosa quesea á emendar: casti- | gue á aquel qui sabe que es enculpa. 7 segund dios adugalo ácarrera de uerdad. En carrera de uerdad adu- | ga otros freyres por castigarlo si menester fuere. Ni(n)gun freyre non denostre nil maltraya. á so frayre. | todos se ornen con grand amor. Ayan todas aquellas cosas que son necessarias á uenacion. Ningun omme | non aya mala respuesta. ni á so freyre. niáotro omme maguer lo meresca. A todos respondan | con humildad. con mansedumpne. guardense de mentir. Nínguno non iure si non con licencia del maestro. | ó del comendador. que por auentura non se periure. (Footnote: Siquier de comestacion.)

P acientes sean átodos christianos. 7 si algun mal les fiziere ó dixiere suffranlo en paz. | non tengan uoz sin licentia de so maestro. ó de aquel que souier en so logar. Atempramiento guarden enandar. 7 en fablar. 7 en todo su cuerpo. (Marginal note: de

castitate statuitur).

O bedientes sean al maestro. en todas cosas 7 por todas cosas. Aquellos que ouieren mugeres tengan | coniugal castidad. 7 aquellos quelas non ouieren tengan castidad. | (Marginal note: de

obedientia).

(N) on ayan ningun proprio. ni retengan ninguna cosa. si non aquello queles fuere otorgado. del maestro. | ó del comendador. El maestre establesca comendador que aya adar alos freyres que estan enel con- | uiento. 7 alos otros freyres que estan en sus casas. con sus mugieres. 7 con sus compannas. 7 deles delas | necessarias cosas dela casa segund es el poder. |

16 Vo.

delas otras oras. Missa cada dia oyan. si por alguna manera pudieren ó sien algunas grandes | necessidades enbargados non fueren. Mas despues dela missa. 7 dela prima á cabillo con silencio 7 con diuíno | timor fagan uenia ante la cruz. 7 ante el comendador. 7 aquello queles mandare. ásalud de sus almas 7 a | prouecho de su casa: faganlo. Mas el dia del Domingo. hayan spacioso cabillo. ó con mayor delibra- | miento auant puesto todol clamor piensen del negocio dela casa. 7 aquello que ásalut de sus | almas. 7 á prouecho dela meson connoscieren. la diuina gracia auxiliante. studiendo complir. |

Las quaresmas fagan una del dia de .iiij. or coronatorum. SEQUITUR DE IEIUNIJS. | tro anauidad. otra desdel Domingo. de carnes stoltas tro á resurrectio. De la fiesta de sant Mi- | gael fasta pentacosta ayunen siempre las .vi. ferias. desde la

pentacosta. fasta la fiesta de sant Mi- | gael. non ayunen. mas maguera quaresmal coman. Aquellos que por enfermedad ó por necessidad non pudieren | ayunar. coman por so licentia del comendador. Si alguno delos freyres. otras abstinencias quisieren far. segunt | la prouidentia del maestre las fagan. assi que por aquesto non delexe el seruitio. 7 la defension dela christiandad. | C a el nostro sennor nos amonesta por exiemplo dessí. que quomo deuie prender muerth por sos discipulos. di- | xoles como mayor amor non hauie que poner su alma por sus amigos. Mas grant cosa es poner so cuerpo en | diuersos periglos: que entormentar so cuerpo por muchos quebramientos. |

gora caualleros de christo leuantad uos delas obras delas tiniebras. 7 uestid uos armas delúz que non uos | pueda decebir el diablo que toda uia demanda que deguelle. 7 sesfuerza cuemo nos saque dela carrera | de iusticia. Nunqua delexedes el deffendemiento de uostros freyres, 7 dela catholigal ecclesia. Ninguna cosa | non á mas buena ante dios que finir uida por espada, ó por fuego. ó por agua. ó por captiuidad. ópor muchos periglos | non recontables. Assi freyres uos conuiene entrar enel regno de dios. 7 uenir à aquella bona uentura que dios prome- tio à aquellos quel amauan. queoios non lo uioron, ni oreias lo odieron, ni encorazon de omme suber. Onde si | alguno flebeciere so cuerpo por grandes ayunos. 7 sosfuerzas le fallecieren en seruitio de nostro sennor. sepa que fizo mala cosa. Mas asoffrir el trabaio de cada dia. el angel metio .i. pan á la cabeza de he- lia 7 dixo leuantad 7 com. que grand carrera hasandar. El nostro sennor ouo merced daquellos que uinieron | áel. 7 non quiso que fuessen ayunos á sus casas que por auentura desflaqueciessen en la carrera. Tod aquel | que es deffendedor cumple aquellas cosas que dios dira alos iustos. el dia del iudizio houi fambre 7 dis- tes me ácomer. houi sed 7 diestes me a beuer. Assi com el deffendedor libra áalguno de captiuidad : que non sea preso, este da á comer a fambriento. 7 da á beuer al sediento. 7 uiste al desnudo. 7 uisita aquel que iaze | en la carzel. Qui há mas fambre ó más sed. que aquel quees enpoder de moros. Ond si algun frayre fuere | medroso. 7 non fuere conuenible por yr en caualgada segunt la prouidentia deso maestro. faga algunas cosas otras dela meson. que non sea embalde. mas (faga) aquello quel mandaren. Ca como dize sant Jeronimo. Faz algu- na cosa que el diablo non te falle uagaroso. Quando ayunaren non conuengan con sus mugeres: nienlas fiestas de | sancta Maria. ni de sant Juan babtista. nin delos apostolos. ni delas mayores fiestas. ni enlas uigilias. Ali do fuere el con- uento delos freyres. que no han mugieres.

En las dos quaresmas los freyres que ouieren mugeres conuiento tengan. 7 las mugeres con aquellas que non an ma-

de las ecclesias. Stablido logar sea do el maestro tenga general cabildo. 7 do sea el conuento | de los clerigos. 7 el prior que haya garda dellos. 7 de conseio alas almas de los freyres quando mester

(below: fuere).

uando el maestro transier: el prior aya la garda DE OBITU MAGISTRI | de toda la orden. fasta que otro maestro sea escogido por la eleycion de los xiij. frey- | res. que son electores 7 todos sean obedientes al prior asi como al maestro: El prior quando oyer | el transimiento del maestro: enbie por .xiij. freyres quanto mas ayna pudier. Et si algu- | no daquellos non pudier y séér. por enfermedad ó por alguna cosa: tro alos .x. dias me- | tan otro en so logar. que la eleycion non se tarde. Aquellos .xiij. freyres ayan poder de remouer | al maestro. si de malas costumpnes fuere. o non fuere prouechaule a su orden. E si al- | guna desauenencia deuenier: entrel maestro 7 el cabildo: ellos lo de partan. Enpero | non sean menos ebedientes al maestro. Si alguno destos .xiij. freyres transiere. ó por al | guna cosa ouiere a séér mudado: el maestro con conseio de los otros o de la mayor | parth meta otro en so logar. |

Stablido es del maestro 7 el mayor cabildo. que .xiij. caualeros 7 uisitadores 7 comen- | dores mayores. 7 otros freyres alos quales las letras del maestro fueren enbia- | dos. sean uenidos en el euandicho cabildo. 7 el que falleciere destos. Sea maiado de disciplinas reglares. 7 penitencies por penitencia de .i. anno. Si non fuere por grand enbar- | go ó por grand necessidad. que non pudo

v séér amostrandolo.

Stablido logar sea do tenga el maestro general cabildo 7 enel Domingo. de Letare iherusalem | en quaresma olos .xiij. freyres 7 los comendadores de todala meson uengan. sinon | fuere por grand necessidad. Aprimas la regla sea leida. 7 de salud de sus almas. 7 de las tempora- | les cosas piensen. E los uisitadores sean esleydos que por anno guarden las casas de los freyres | fidel mientre. 7 uengan a cabildo demostrar la mantenencia delos freyres. 7 al maestro. desus | casas. 7 do las bonas costumpnes sean stablido de los peccadores que ayan de ihesu christo vuen gualardon. | 7 sean coronados en cielo. por que ellos dan sus cuerpos amenudo por sue sposa sancta ecclesia. el nostro sennor | ihesu christo qui da adiutorio ad aquellos que son dados a so seruicio. Qui uiuit 7 regnat. et. disponit. pacem. in unitate. spiritus. sancti. deus per. omnia secula. amen.

Tod estas cosas que por salud de las almas son stablidas, de cadaun de los freres sea tenido, si non por necessidad o por enfer-

medad. ópor la licencia de so maestro.

# DE EMENDACIO |

Ningun freyre que fuere acusado non se ose defender por porfiosa razon. Mas depues de la accu- | sacion. goze se de purgar por penitencia. Non contradiga al acusador enninguna cosa. que non nas- | ca ende baraia. Aquestos so los castigamientos por los quales los freyres des acordantes deuen séér | repisos por penitencia. de .i. anno. Si algun freyre fur trobado en furto. ó en fornicio. ódescobridor | de las secretas cosas de cabildo. ó desobedient. quel dixieren por nombre de obediencia que faga al | guna cosa 7 nola fiziere. ó qui firiere á so frey (re) con armas. ó qui firiere a su mugier con fust ó con

17 Vo.

Los otros dias enla sebmana deuedes a saber enel dia de domingo. enla .iij. 7 enla v. feria. ala ian- | tar. ó ala cena de dos carnes pueden abastamiento auer. como el Maestro. ó el comendador uiere por bien. | A la mesa tengan silentio. 7 non fablen. si non fuere por menester dela mesa. ó por otra grand necessidad. Eali do | fuere el conuíento cada dia sea la leccion oyda. DE UESTIBUS | Vesteduras ayan de blanco. 7 de negro. 7 de pardo. color. 7 pieles

V esteduras ayan de blanco. 7 de negro. 7 de pardo. color. 7 pieles corderínas. 7 otras de poco precio 7 to- | das estas cosas sobredichas sean guardadas con la prouidencia del maestro. La entencion de todos | sea endeffender la ecclesia de dios. pora ihesu christo. dar sus animas. 7 yr contra moros. non por cosa de rapina. mas | por acrescemiento dela fé de dios. Por esto mandamos que tod aquello que ganaren en tierra de moros. la part | de sus cuerpos den por catiuos sacar de tierra de moros. Los freyres que fueren en conuiento. ó en frontera: comulguen el dia del Domingo. si qui sieren. ó por alguna cosa que se deuieren abstener. |

asas sean enla orden establidas do los freyres uieios. 7 los plagados moren. que las necessa- rias cosas habundiosa mientre

les den. 7 ó suenfermedad puedan alíuíar.

E stablido es queenla orden ayan casas delos enfermos do les sean amministradas las necessarias co- | sas. segund so uoluntad. Los comendadores que fueren sobre las enfermerias. studiense á complir | que quando las huestes entraren á tierra de moros. 7 ellos entren con aquel appareiamiento con el qual alos | freyres 7 alos otros fieles dela hueste. siad algunos conteciere de enfermar. que ellos les puedan | aministrar assi como conuiene entan estrecho logar. 7 el nostro sennor ihesu christo lo testigua. que hauía | en sí grand caridad. 7 ad esta caridad nos deuemos todos esforçar | uando el freyre transiere deste sieglo al otro. los otros freyres que de careta si procesa.

oren por el á dios .iij. pater noster. | 7 el preste .iij. missas.

sopiere. esto si fueren presentes. ue los legos que presentes fueren. rezen. C 7 L. pater nos ter. El clerigo que fuer present | cante una missa. el clerigo que non fuer present reze. D. psalterios. El comendador so cuya potestad el | freyre transiere. tenga .XL. dias .i. pobre a su racion. Elos clerigos fasta .XL. dias fasta commulga- do missa propria le digan. Si algun daquellos que átiempo que conlos frevres morar: 7 transiere dentro en tiemplo stablido por .vij. dias den su racion á .i. pobre. Los freyres que presentes | fueren. digan .i. missa. 7 los que non: digan .xiij. pater noster. Por sos transidos comunalmientre: | .xxx. missas digan por el anno. El lecho. 7 las uestiduras delos freyres transidos sean departidos | por mandado del maestro, por los hospitales dela meson. Tres uegadas enel anno den almosna | alos pobres, por las almas delos freyres. En las octabas de natale (7 enlas octabas de resurrectio) 7 enlas octabas de sancta Maria. de me diado agosto. 7 si pudieren avuden les en uesteduras.

os clerigos assi enlos castiellos, como en nostras uillas, ensemble mangan. so el prior. que sobre ellos | fuere dado. estos clerigos hayan en guarda las ecclesias. demostren los fijos delos freyres. quales | mandare el maestro, ca los freyres assi enuida, como en la muerte: ministren las spiritales cosas | Que los clerigos trayan sobrepelizas segund prouidentia de so prior. Claustra 7 conuento tengan do | ploguier al maestro. 7 do los frayres sean conuersados. Asos clerigos assi delos lauores como de otro bien, quediosles dier. denlos diezmos, ond satorrian assi mismos. 7 alos ornamentos

18 Ro. les sean parcioneros por cuyo prouecho lo el fizo, mas por que ello fizo: ayune las .vi. ferias. de la mayor | quaresma en pan 7 agua sobre los otros. El frayre que firiere so frayre. 7 non con armas uedadas. o que menazar. con armas maguer que non fierga. repientas por la penitencia de medio anno. aquella es la penitencia de medio anno. aprimas seal tolida la sennal de la uestidura. 7 sea batudo de reglares. disciplinas. 7 las otras cosas. El freyre que so sergent o á otro firiere con quales quiere con que vesso pueda séér quebran- tado. 7 lo plagar. repientas por penitencia. de medio anno. fueras que nol tuelgan la sennal, ni el cauallo | ni las armas si fuere cauero. El frayre que descubrier los peccados, de so frayre, aquella penitencia le den | a tener que deuia tener aquel de quien el descubrio los peccados. De los freyres desacordantes entre | si. Si alguno dellos aiudare al otro por paraula de bando. ayune .v. uiernes en pan 7 agua. 7 sea batido tro aques duela mas non con reglares disciplinas. El frayre, que baraiare con su frayre, se | condonar por batalla, sea batidu de reglares. disciplinas. 7 ayune .xv. vi. ferias: in pane 7 aqua. 7 por cada | una dellas sea batudo in absconso. 7 suaf. El frayre que for comouido de yra con su frayre. 7 fiziere mission dauer, sea batudo tro aques duela. El frayre que desmiéntier a so frayre: pren- da uenias 7 faga lo quel mandaren. 7 sil desmentiere con yra. denle disciplinas. El frayre que so | frayre denostar, quel aduxiere a remembranza de alef. ó traycion que fizo ó non fizo, sea batidu | de Reglares. disciplinas. 7 ayune .i. quaresma de .vi. ferias. 7 por cada una dellas sea batidu in absconso. | El frayre que so frayre denostare, non por accusacion segund el man- damiento de la regla mas por le- nuesto que fizo enla orden, ó ante de la orden, sea batidu de disciplinas 7 segund el merecimiento denle la penitencia. El frayre que uinier en remembranza de riqueza que ouo ante de la orden. ó enla orden. ó | nobleza de so linage. 7 por aquesto se exaltare, recebuda uenia sea batido de disciplinas. El fravre que aso frayre so linage auiltare. yl dixiere qual fust ante de la orden. ó en la orden. sea batidu de disciplinas, segund el merecimiento den le la penitencia. El frayre que so frayre ó ad alguno otro dixiere. si non fues por la orden este. mal te faria. set batido de disciplinas. 7 ayune .iij. | vi. FeRias. 7 segund el merito den le la penitencia. Aquello que el maestro ó el comendador dixiere a sus | frayres que fagan uoluntorosa mientre lo fagan. 7 sin nengun entredicho.

C i alguna cosa for mandada alos freyres que nolo tengan ellos por bien. non contradi- | gan aso maestro ni aso comendador. mas pueden dar conseio aquello que uieren por bien. mas | quando les fuere dado el comendamiento si non lo quisieren complir. ayune .xv. vi. FeRiaS in pane. 7 | aqua. 7 sea batido de desciplinas. a y?a(les?) estremas cumpla lo que for mandado. El freyre que menazare a so freyre | 7 dixiere si yo dexo la orden. ayune .xv. vi. FeRias in pane 7 aqua 7 sea batudo de disciplinas. El freyre que so freyre orden denegando 7 ed?are la uistidura con la (cruz) con ira de si. repientas por la penitencia de .i. anno. El frayre que con iuramiento dixiere su palabra 7 mintiere. ayune .v. sextas FeRiaS. in pane 7 aqua. 7 penitencia de disciplinas. El frayre que sin iuramiento mintiere, pierda el uino es dia. El frayre que iurar | su palabra maguer que non mienta pierda el uino es dia. El frayre que con su frayre touiere enten- | cion deira: ayune .vi. sextas FeRias in pane 7 agua. 7 sea batidu de disciplinas 7 pierda el uino es dia. sinon | for cennido(?) prenda uenias. 7 pierda el uino es dia. El frayre que con su frayre de partier de las yen-

18 Vo. otra manera darmas: con que pueda crebantar vesso 7 la plagare que por atal ocasion muchas uegadas contesce que por chica laga uiene omme a muerth. ó el quise defendiere con armas o sin armas al maestro quel mandare ol quisiere prender. ó el que ad alguno desto peccados fiziere peccar a so frayre, ol conseiare que exca de la orden. repientas por penitencia de i. anno. tro fasta que (1 expunxit) el maestre se conseie con los doctores de sancta | escriptura. 7 del conuenible penitencia por atal culpa. Hec autem est penitentia

unius anni.

primas seal tolida la sennal de la uestidura. 7 desend sea bati tudo de reglares disciplinas. 7 si cauero fuere tuelganle el cauallo. 7 las armas. 7 si fore cauero ó no. coma en tierra sin manteles. del conducho de los siruientes coma. 7 es mismo seruicio faga. ni can ni ga | to. ni auf. non tullga del escudiella do comier. non entre en cabildo, postremero sea de todos | en la ecclesia. En la .iiij. 7 en la VI. feria sea batidu en asconso. 7 non graue mientre. Estos mismos dias ayune. mas en la iiij. FERia. quaresmal coma. en la VI. FERia. pan 7 agua. Quien en algunos daquestos auandichos peccados, peccare en absconso. 7 se accusare el solo al maestro, ó al comendador, non le tuelgan la sennal, nin el cauallo, ni las armas. ni sea echado de la mesa comu- nal. ni del comunal conducho. ni del cabildo. ni en la ecclesia. mas en absconso con reglares dis- | ciplinas sea batidu. 7 todo lo al faga. De fornicio. ó de omicidio. manifiesten se alos clerigos | que son otorgados del cabildo por aquesto. Mas si antel conuento fuere acusado, repientas de | todas cosas asi com es dicho, mas en cabildo ca non en pueblo mas qui publical mientre peccare pu- | blical se penedesca. E aquesta regla sea de las mayores como de las menos culpas. Qui in. pace. permaneant. spiritus. sancti.

le dara mayor).

S i por auentura deuenier que dios non mande. que algun frayre mate | so frayre. ó a otro de qual se quier orden. si pudiere séér. sea preso. 7 sea metido en fierro | 7 denle penitencia de .i. anno. tro que el Maestro se conseie. con el apostoligo quel de penitencia de grand homeci | dio. Otrosi si algun freyre a so mugier

matare esso mismo le fagan.

A un si por auentura el frayre matare omme que non sea frayre. 7 el por si mismo demandare perdon: | tal homicidio. non le prendan mas den le penitencia de .i. anno atener. tro aque el maestro le de perdon | de apostoligo ó del que touiere so uoz. 7 si otrol accusare fagan gelo complir lo que es establido. | Si algun

frayre taiare miembro de so frayre sea preso 7 esta misma penitencia le den. tro que el Maestro se con | seie quel de penitencia conuenible El freyre que fiziere incendia. ó firiere clerigo ó otro qual se quier ordenado. ó otro sacrilegio qual se quier que fizier. dent le penitencia de .i. anno. tro que el Maestro le de penitencia | de tal peccado. El frayre que en defension de los castiellos de la casa. o el otras cosas que el Maestro | manda defender: por auentura matar omme, non tenga el sola la penitencia. mas todos los (?)

10 Ro.

ad hebreos manifestissime designat dicens. Non enim accessistis ad sonum | tube. 7 montem fumantem. set accessistis admontem syON. 7 ciuitatem dei | uiuentis ierusalem celestem. 7 écclesiam primitiuorum ascriptam in celis. 7 multitu- dinem angelorum. collaudantium deum. Vides ergo quia coram his omnibus qui, ex eo quod semper | deum uideant. merito filij israel appellantur. ihesus legem suam in cordibus credentium scribit. Set 7 nunc per hec que loquimur ihesus deutero nomium scribit ineorum cordibus qui integra fide 7 toto animoque dicuntur accipiunt, qui integro audituatque integra corde. 7 non correpto sensu acreprobo, circa fidem audiun(t) 7 retinent que dicuntur. quia ne- cesse est deuteronomium scribi in integris lapidibus. Post hec dicit. 7 omnis inquid israel 7 | presbyteri. 7 iudices. 7 scribe predi(u)cebant hinc 7 illine archam testamenti domini est. in | qua tabule legis manudomini scripte seruantur. Et circa hanc archam testamen- | ti omnis qui uere israel est incedit 7 iam non est longe abea. Leuite uero 7 sacerdotes. 7 iam in humeris | suis eam portant. 7 enim quicumque sacerdotali religione 7 sanctitate uiuunt. non solum hi qui sedere uidentur in consessu sacerdotali. set hi magis qui sacerdotaliter agunt, quorum pars est dominus nec ulla eis portio habetur in terris ipsi sunt uere sacerdotes 7 le- uite dei. qui inhumeris suis legem dei portant, agendo uidelicet 7 impledo, per opus ea que scribuntur in lege. Set 7 proselitus inquit. 7 indigena simul. Êt erant | dimidij iuxta montem garizin. 7 dimidij iuxta montem hebal. | Quomodo ergo 7 iam ista explicabimus? Vere "opus" adiutorio dei est. ubi possimus uerbis nostris | uerba diuina disserere. 7 explanare. Qui sunt dimidij qui incedebant iuxta | montem garizin. 7 qui sunt dimidij qui 7 ipsi licet saluentur. non tamen potuerint iuxta | montem garizin incedere. set incedunt iuxta montem hebal. Mons garizin bene- dicttiones habet, mons autem hebal maledictiones que peccatoribus imminent. | Statuerunt 7 enim sicut scriptym est in (de)uteronomio. sex tribus adbenedicendum in monte | garizin. 7 ipse(a)(s) tribus que nobiliores sunt 7 eximie. id est symeON. leui. iuda. | ysacar. ioseph. 7 beniamin. Alias uero ignobiliores admaledicendum, in quibus | 7 ruben, quia secundum cubile patris. 7 thorum maculauit paternum. 7 zabulON. qui | est. ultimus filius lie. Hec quidem ueterum hystorie referunt gesta. Set quomodo nos hanc | narrationem hystorie admisticam intelligentiam referimus, ut ostendamus (Foot of page; qui sunt isti).

19 Vo.

tes que nos deuemos séér siruientes prenda disciplinas 7 pierda. el uino es. dia. El frayre que contradi- | xer la palabra del Maestro o del comendador pierda el uino es dia. El frayre que so uoluntad quisier | complir. 7 el comendador non lo uiere por bien. 7 el dixiere peor me abredes del seruicio de dios. | ayune .VII. dias en pane 7 aqua. 7 sea batidu de disciplinas. 7 pierda. el uino es. dia. Et s (i) algun freyre fizi- | ere al peccado gun peccado o dixiere que (en) este libro non es escripto repientas se segund la manera de los (next line:

otros).

Los frayres calzados reciban uenias. Los freyres uelen | alos enfermos, por lo que les mandare el comendador. Desdepenta costa fata la feria de | sant Migael: ningun frayre non prenda viernes a ayunar, mas la penitencia quel dieren sea dada en | disciplinas ó en otros trabaios. Los freyres siempre digan miserere mei deus ala mesa, si non padezcan (?) | de enfermedad, ó de grant necessidad. Ningun comendador non pueda absoluerlas penitencias que delos clerigos | fueren dadas en absconso, si las non tornare en otro trabaio. Si algun frayre fore a echar de | la orden, por alguna culpa sea en prouidencia del comendador. 7 de todo el cabildo, assi que ellos | mismos lo prouean, si de echar fuere de la orden, antel pueblo o no, segund el euangelio | dize, que quien publical mientre pecca publical mientre se repienta. Al frayre que uiniere | mesaie de muerte de so frayre, sin nenguna tardanza uaya a el. 7 adugan el cuerpo | alli do es asoterrar.

For the note added at the bottom of Folio 19 Vo. by a scribe of the sixteenth century, see this *Review*, vol. II, p. 282. At the close of this note, the Folio terminates with the following words in a thir-

teenth century hand: se ningun pueblo.

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# **MISCELLANEOUS**

# THE JOCOSE TESTAMENT OF G. CONTARINI AND A GROUP OF VENETIAN REVELLERS OF THE SEICENTO

W HEN Giambattista Finazzi, about 1725, compiled the volume of occasional verse entitled Poesie oscene dell' Illustrissimo Signor Giovan Francesco Businello,1 he committed two errors of editorship: the poems are not all by Busenello, and, further, relatively few are obscene. Nevertheless the patrons of Finazzi's shop at San Giovanni Grisostomo who may have been beguiled by the seductive title were not wholly deceived. For Finazzi exerted himself in this and some forty similar volumes to preserve a mass of literature that ought on more scores than one to have perished. For all of the Council of Trent, the devil had his tail in nearly every ink-well of the Seicento, and not only was he careful to make most of the moral poetry unreadable, but with cunning foresight inserted in nearly every poem interesting for the history of manners a proper amount of wickedness. That is why I shall content myself with pointing out the significance of the dialect testament of G. Contarini, without printing it in full. Moreover it is extremely long.

This testament attracted my attention because the ninth poem in my edition of the sonnets of Busenello (Venezia, Fabris, 1911) is addressed All' Illustrissimo signor Zorzi Contarini per l'accademia della sua casa, Zorzi Contarini, whose career as a Venetian official may be followed in the Inscrizioni of Cicogna; or in a printed report of his work in Brescia, 1648,² and whose departure from the office of Luogotenente del Friuli elicited a laudatory poem from Fra Ciro di Pers.³ This encomium has a verse or two bearing on the references in the sonnet of Busenello:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cod. Querini-Stampalia (Venice), cl. VI, no. XX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Dichiarattione e revisione dell' Illust. et Ecc. Signori Zorzi Contarini et Alvise Valier, Capitani rettori di Brescia in proposito di privilegij et essentioni di Datij di Sua Serenità con l' auttorità dell' ecc. Senato di Brescia, per li Sabbi Stampatori Comunali (Brescia) 1648. Accessible at the Museo Correr.

<sup>\*</sup>The poem begins: Questo è'l secol di ferro e questo è'l regno; in Poesie del Cavalier Fra' Ciro di Pers, Venezia, Poletti, 1681, pp. 225-9.

Su fogli antichi impallidasti e l'arti Greche imparasti, onde l'huom dotto fassi. Poi novo Ulisse a più remote parti Per prudenza mercar volgesti i passi.

In fact, the literary pretentions of Contarini, with which both Pers and Busenello credit him, form the principal argument for identifying the G. Contarini, author of the testament, with the official Giorgio Contarini. In the testament reference is made to a brother Giacomo; but in Barbaro's genealogies, notably incomplete however, no such relative is recorded for Giorgio Contarini, who nevertheless seems to be the only literary man of that name living around 1653, the date of our poem.

The academic activities of Contarini recorded by Busenello were not so exacting as to prevent him from associating with a group of a quite different sort; and his "prudenza," lauded by Ciro di Pers, was of the kind that admitted any number of "imprudenze." The travels by which this wisdom was acquired were supplemented in 1653 by another, described in the testament. It is one of those journeys so frequent in the Venice of the Seicento, where a casual evening stroll through the Merceria often landed the gay traveller,

as the phrase went, "in France."

Our interest in the document consists solely in the names of the Venetian friends he found there; for the references establish the existence of a group of revellers in Venice, each of whom, after limitless devotion to Venus in his youth, had in 1653 forsaken her for Mercury. If the jocose and cynical implications of Contarini are as true as the names of his friends here cited are real, we are forced to admit that the boundless gaiety of the Seicento in Venice forced likewise its compensation. The conclusion is as startling as it The title of the document explains in parts its nature: Testamento del più infelice impestà di Venezia, nel quale radunati alcuni più cari, per sodisfar al suo obligo in riconoscimento del suo debito, gli lascia un segno piccolo di memoria. Fatto l'anno della sua malora nel mese delle sue maggior angoscie, e finito il giorno del suo ultimo precipizio. Alli suoi più cari salute. Testamento dell' Ill'mo Signor G. Contarini, 1653, adi 18 giugno pur d'aver la sua esecutione ogni momento.4 Contarini had an immediate model in

At p. 180a of the Ms. The first verse is: Deve pensar alfin chi xe christian.

similar testaments of Giovanni Garzoni, a Venetian lawyer and litterateur who must certainly have known him well, and who satirized the courtisanes of the city in an equally interminable series of quatrains about five years before.<sup>5</sup> Just as Garzoni leaves the Rialto bridge to one of his friends for daily and perpetual use, so we may say in general that Contarini abandons all the arts of medicine to his companions who singly and collectively find themselves in a condition similar to his.

The testament begins in the conventional style with some two hundred verses on the necessity of death and on the propriety of a friendly exit from the world. Not even the usual recommendation of the soul to God, in a fervent prayer made apparently in all earnestness, is omitted. So we may be sure than Contarini died in the odor of sanctity, even though, by the special provision of his will, a tomb was to be erected to him in the "Ospeal de i Incurabili." Executor is Marco Cardenal, who receives for his trouble "una calotta de cendà rasà." The witnesses, a certain Baldusini and Luca Merlo, are rewarded with "quel boccon che col magnarlo se camina dretto," along with "una cestella de mandorle e d'uva passa."

I will cite in full the verses which prove the absolute reliability of this poem as a social document:

Al Follis vecchio, che col miedegar
Ha fatto ch'in sto mondo ancora vivo,
Mi solamente a lui ghe voi lassar
La penna e'l caramal col qual mi scrivo.
Al signor Paolo, mio miedego bravo,
(Ch'assai povero el stimo in miedegar)
Ghe lasso per mostrar che ghe son schiavo
Ipocrate e Galeno per studiar.
A Bortolo mio barbier, che per pietà
Sempre ha bu del mio mal grave dolor,
Ghe lasso per no mostrar crudeltà
Una scatoletta e un rasador.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Really Busenello has a certain claim to these testaments, but I am glad that the authorship of Garzoni is so strongly indicated by the manuscript attributions that without danger of error I can pass them over to my friend Pilot, who is studying Garzoni (see Fanfulla della Domenica, April 2, 1911). The confusion between Andrea and Giovanni Garzoni in the Mss. is nearly hopeless of solution.

Al signor Nicolò, nostro spicier, Per far composizion bone e perfette, Lassar ghe vogio come xe'l dover Quel libro che ho notà le mie ricette. A Checco, so garzon, che in sto mio mal Sempre l'ho cognossù putto valente, Ghe lasso el mio carotto mercurial A doperar se ghe dolesse niente. Al signor Simon, spicier che sta all'Abran,6 Per el qual son tegnuo tutto de far, El cranio mio, che no xe troppo san, Che'l ghe sia dao a lu voggio lassar. Perchè'l cognosso mi d'assae sperienza, So che no'l varderà fadiga o spese, Ma'l formerà con lu la quint'essenza, Che tutti guarirà del mal franzese. Ma perchè so che l'è de condizion Differente de i altri in qualità, Mi ghe voggio lassar per compassion Che l'habbia su i mij unguenti auttorità. De più ghe lasso per so ben oprar In liogo de ducati e de cecchini Che'l possa in ogni tempo doperar Le mie pezze i mij fili e bolettini.

The Prove delle aggregazioni alla nobiltà di Padova, vol XX, s. v. Busenello, of the Museo Civico di Padova, show the physician Follis at the bedside of Laura Muscorno, who died in the parish of Santa Maria Zobenigo in Venice in 1648. Laura Muscorno was the mother of G. F. Busenello. It would be curious to know whether that "Mistr'Alban," a druggist, who specialized in diseases of the sort here discussed, who is satirized with some bitterness in the rolli of Busenello (or Garzoni), is to be identified with our "Simon, spicier che sta all'Abran." At any rate an autograph of this gentleman is to be found in the Museo Civico di Treviso. His full name was Simon Bosio, and his title "specier all'Abran." On September 15, 1650, he signed a receipt for "lire 34.10 a conto," paid by G. F. Busenello. The autograph of this receipt is part of the Archivio Busenello, recently transferred to Treviso, and which

<sup>\*</sup>The suppression of che sta is necessary to restore the verse.

has not been arranged. The record of it may easily be found in a volume entitled *Testamenti*, *Quietanze et altro*, vol. I, p. 139ff., under the proper date.<sup>7</sup> It would be interesting to see what this "account" was. Busenello insisted on detailed charges only from his butchers and his bakers. But let us not be cynical. The bill may have been for "triaca," or for cinnamon. Harmless enough!

The sixty-three friends of Contarini remembered with various legacies in this testament come from the noble or citizen families of Venice, and in the great majority of cases, their identity can be determined by reference to the genealogies of Barbaro or Toderini, or to the Inscrizioni and Bibliografia of Cicogna, and further in Soranzo. No one probably would care to have a dictionary of Venetian biography in illustration of this document; though the document will be of use perhaps in writing such a dictionary. A note or two will show its importance. The "orbo Trevisan grazioso e caro" is that Marco, whose celebrated friendship with Niccolò Barbarigo moved the muse of Busenello and which spilled enough additional ink to fill a good quarto page of bibliography. Marco Bembo was a dialect poet whose career is still in need of an historian, and who received some interesting instructions in the Trattenimenti di chi vive in Venezia of Busenello, about the proper way to "go fishing in the amorous ponds of Venice." If Contarini is to be believed, by 1653 he at least had caught a "granchio." He was an "Accademico Incognito." Michiel Foscarini published in this very year, 1653, his notes to Caramella's Museum illustrium poetarum. His history of Venice makes up the tenth volume of the celebrated Degl'Istorici delle cose veneziane, Venezia, Lovisa, 1722, together with a biography and portrait. He was twenty years old at the time of Contarini's poem. Students of architecture may know Battista Michiel, who led the suit in 1637 which brought about the restoration by Longhena of the desecrated tomb of Michiel Vitale, in S. Giorgio Maggiore. The most famous personage in the group is Vincenzo Cappelo, who figures extensively in Venetian politics of the middle of the seventeenth century. Francesco Molin was probably the grandson of the Doge rather than the Doge actually reigning in 1653. Francesco Malipiero, the assassin of Do-

<sup>&#</sup>x27;In this index is noted another similar payment to Bosio for Sept. 14: "lire 31 a conto."

menico Querini, appears here also with Marco Malipiero. Antonio Vendramin is known only as the author of a Padova dissertation. So we could go on to show that at least a third of Contarini's friends have left record of services more or less important to the state.<sup>8</sup>

It would be unjust not to point out in the testament of Contarini its single attractive aspect, which also throws into relief something of the temper of social relationships in this period. For these allegations in all their cynical gaiety have no twinge of bitterness. Through the social circles of Venice extended a sympathetic richness of fellowship, which Americans especially ought to note as an antidote to the absurdities of Byron and Fenimore Cooper. In the numerous legacies of Contarini there is almost always the expression of affectionate familiarity, accompanied at times with a flitting characterization that bring his comrades in pleasure into a certain distinctness. The "orbo Trevisan" has been remembered with the gift of "do pilolette":

E so, l'accetterà sto poco don Perchè da un cuor el vien tutto d'amor; Acciò che'l veda che'l me xe patron Ghe lasso anca la sponza de saor.

To Ottavian Battagia, "el più forte de tutti e'l più valente."

Ghe lasso perchè a lu ghe voggio ben Un po d'unguento acciò no'l diga niente.

For the possible utility of the poem I give an index of the names: Albrizzi, Francesco; Balanzon, Alessandro; Balbi, Francesco; Baldi, Pagiano; Baldusini (?); Bandiera (?); Basadona, Antonio; Basadona, Gerolamo; Barbarigo, Andrea; Battagia, Ottavian; Becher (?); Bembo, Marco; Bosello, Ventura; Bosio, Simon, Speziere all' Abran; Bravi, Paolo; Briani, Lorenzo; Capello, Vincenzo; Cardenal, Marco; Contarini, Giacomo; Coppo, Marchiò (i. e., Melchiorre); Corner, Mattio; Corner, Giovanni (Zanetto); Doaneto(?); Dolfin, Piero; Duodo (?); Erizzo, Vincenzo; Falier, Alvise; Falier, Marc Antonio; Follis (?); Foscarini, Giovanni; Foscarini, Michiel; Foscarini Pietro (Perin), "fu quondam Alvise"; Lippomano, Giovanni; Malipiero, Francesco; Malipiero, Marco; Memo, Michiel; Merlo, Luca; Merlo, Mandricardo; Michiel, Antonio; Michiel, Battista; Michielon (?); Minotto, Piero; Minotto, Francesco; Minotto, a notary; Mocenigo, Marc Antonio; Mocenigo, Michiel; Mocenigo, Piero; Molin, Francesco; Morosini, Vitale; Nani, Bernardo; Nani, Giovanni; Querini, Angelo; Querini, Giulio; Renier, Girolamo; Ruzini, Gerolamo; Sagredo, Marco; Soranzo, Giubilo; Trevisan, David; Trevisan, Marco (orbo); Vendramin, Antonio; Zen, Andrea; Zen, Marchiò; Zio (i. e., Giglio), Giovanni; Zorzi, Gerolamo.

Andrea Zen is addressed in terms equally enthusiastic:

L'è pur bello al vardar, l'è pur garbato, Che'l me fava restar como un stival; Ma perchè no'l me tegna per ingrato Un segreto ghe lasso a quel so mal.

His friendship with Giacomo Renier is due to special relationship:

Voggio lassar a Momolo Renier Per esser tanto stretto in parentela Un po de solimà, che xe'l dover, Per poder varentarse la cappella.

The genial portrait of Duodo, who bore the pseudonym "sgion-fetto" is sketched in a few rather pregnant verses:

Al sgionfetto che ha gusto de burlar Perchè cognosso che lu xe de quei Che ha diletto coi amisi a trastullar, Ghe lasso la perucca coi cavei.º

Another similar type is Marco Sagredo:

Al signor Marco Sagredo, che sempre siol Con tanta cortesia sempre scherzar, Ghe lasso, se per caso mai ghe diol La testa, un cerottin per miedegar.

Francesco Molin also has his nickname, "el negro":

E Checco da Molin, negro, che ha bu Con mi gran confidenza e amistà, Voggio che'l veda che mi l'ho tegnù Per caro amigo e che l'ho sempre amà . . .

Similarly Vincenzo Cappello was called the "colosso":

A Vincenzo Cappello, detto Colosso, Perchè sempre la baia el me tien dà, Altro mi a lu lassarghe mo ghe posso Se non la fassa che'l tegna infassà;

<sup>9</sup> The hair of the dead was regularly used for the manufacture of wigs. See Imbert, La vita fiorentina del Seicento, Bemporad, Florence, 1906, p. 109.

La qual ghe scazzarà quel gran dolor Che sempre lo travagia e lo molesta; Più quest'onto che posto con amor Libera in quattro dì dogia de testa.

The abuse of *ghe* in the third verse, which gave Goldoni's foreign servants so much amusement, is not more characteristic of the naïveté of the dialect, than the cogent diminutives of the following to Michiel Mocenigo and Giovanni Corner:

A quel Mocenigheto, che nel dir La lengua ha troppo longa e nel parlar, Però mi voi tutto quanto soffrir E l'ogio de cavei ghe voi lassar . . . A Zanetto Corner, che ho sempre amà Per quanto mai podesse intravegnir, Ghe lasso un cerottin, che ho destirà Acciò che'l possa d'ogni mal varir.

The picture of the poet and academician Marco Bembo has a wealth of suggestiveness:

Al signor Marco Bembo, mio patron, Che sempre del mio mal se pia diletto, Ghe lasso, se l'urtasse in un rognon, Delle pezze per far un cussinetto.

Contarini shows equal concern for the "bognoni" of Antonio Michiel,—a trait moreover interesting for the history of costume:

Lasso a Antonio Michiel, gramo meschin, Acciò che'l tegna sconto i so bognoni Quel poco che m'attrovo d'ormesin Tutto in pezze strazzà, fatto in bocconi. E perchè ghe scomenza el mal in testa E va afenir perfin sotto de i piè, Ghe lasso quelle do ch'ho in la mia cesta: Composte, pillolette d'aloè. Però ghe lasso un unguentin missià Co una pignatella e una pezzetta, E questo fatto caldo e destirà, Se renderà la piaga monda e netta.

Another picturesque attitude is ascribed to Gerolamo Zorzi:

De quel gramo Gerolamo, fradel De Marco Zorzi, no me voi scondar: Ma acciò che'l veda che ghe son fedel, Qualche memoria ghe vorria lassar. So che zà mesi no'l podeva andar Caminando per strada da lu sol: Però voggio lassarghe insegnar D'adoperar sto lasso quando el pol.

Voltaire's inscription for his statue of Cupid could have served admirably for that of Mercury in the Seicento:

Qui que tu sois-voici ton maître: "
Il l'est, le fut ou le doit être.

And I cite in proof Contarini's lecture to Alvise Falier and Alessandro Balanzon:

Sior Alvise Falier, senteve qua E senti quel che disse un bon potista: Lassa star quel gran vitio che ti fa, Se no, ti perderà presto la vista. Ma mi che voi che la mia servitù Viva in pase co ti, viva contenta, Lassarte voggio acciò che credi più Ouel ch'ho lassà stillà d'acqua de Brenta<sup>10</sup> . . . Ma so che'l Balanzon s'ha da doler Che come amigo el tratto molto mal: Però l'ha sto bel zovene a saver Che no saveva che l'havesse mal. Ma adesso che mi so che l'è cussì, Mi pretendo no far cosa no stramba: Ghe lasso un unguentin fatto da mi Acciò 'l lo dopra co ghe diol la gamba. E perchè so che spesso la renella

<sup>10</sup> Plain fresh water. L. Padoan, in Saggiuoli clodiensi, Adria, Vidale, 1906, vol. I, pp. 9-10, seems to regard the phrase acqua de Brenta as a Chioggiotto expression, arising from the conditions of Chioggia life. However it is very old in Venetian, due, I suggest, to humorous play on such locutions as acqua di vita, acqua di Cologna, etc.

El butta a terra e nol fa star in ton, Per caritae ghe lasso la mia scuella Per strucolarghe el cedro all'occasion.

The reference to Marco Malipiero has a biographical note, unless a well known pun on the word *Gallia* is exaggerated beyond measure:

A Marco Malipiero che in Gallia
Ha ressolto i so zorni de passar,
Ghe lasso da poderse portar via
Un linziol vecchio per poder strazzar.
E tanta mi ghe lasso cortesia
Perchè'l mar fa vegnir tante infezion;
Acciò che no'l deventa una caia
Ghe lasso un po de sonza de capon.

This word play is certain however in the case of Antonio Basadonna:

Aveva tra i mij cari abbandonà
Antonio Basadona, mio fradel,
E l'essersi da mi si allontanà
M'aveva fatto andar fuor del cervel.
E sì, alla fe, lassava el mio più bon
Che in la guerra de Franza ha combattù,
E l'è della mia classe el confalon,
Che alla fe mia no l'abbandono più . . .
Cento grami te lasso in un vasetto
D'arzento vivo per poder varir,
Con un poco de dittamo perfetto
Per poder le to oche far morir.

Contarini doubtless compared notes occasionally with his friend Bandiera:

Al Bandiera ch'è sta de compagnia Nel servir e goder Cattina Sora El prego d'accettar per cortesia Sta fortagia che ho fatto in la fersora; La qual cognoscerè perfetta e bona E da quella vedrè che mi no mento, Che se tornerè mai da qualche donna, Quella ve varirà dal scolamento. And Anzoletto Querini was frequently with him on his escapades:

Anzoletto Querini, che tra i cari Mi sempre ho pratticà sera e mattina; Però ghe lasso per i so cattari Un ster per far biscotto de farina.

As usual, the head dress of women appears as the special insignia of profession. Hence a recommendation to Contarini's brother Giacomo, like that of Busenello to Zuanne Bembo:

Nel resto el prego ad imparar da mi No vardar mai donne conzà de testa, Perchè el seguro sarà pochi dì Che'l mal scomenzerà su per la festa.

It will not be necessary specifically to summarize all that one can deduce from these passages concerning the medical treatment popular in 1633 for this situation, a subject already well discussed by Busenello in his satire on *El bollo delle puttane*. I will cite however one verse that has a certain philological interest, in view of recent discussions of Goldoni's *Rusteghi*:

So che'l Briani se lamenteria Che regalasse tutti eccetto lu: Però ghe voi lassar quella liscia Che fa che i peli no se slonga più.

Boerio was entirely correct in his admittance of the two forms *liscia* and *liscia*, just as Goldoni editors are correct in their use of *liscia*, In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as far as I have observed, the penultimate accent is the more common. In Busenello for instance the proportion is five to one. And it should be noted that such a double accentuation for words in a is natural to the dialect: see *ombra* and *ombria* in Boerio, and add to that *tenebra* and *tenebria* from Busenello:<sup>11</sup>

Le tenebrie sbianchiza e'l dì fa scuro.

However for *liscia* and *liscia* one does not need to assume analogical contamination; for in Latin both *lix* and the derivative *lixiva* are

<sup>11</sup> Che niole in ciel seren che all' improviso, v. 2.

well attested. Nor is liscia confined to the dialect, as witness Melosio's sonnet, A brutta donna che si lisciava:

Deh lasciate, per Dio, questa farina, Nè v'impazzite à più compor liscia; Che chi bella non è, sorella mia, Bella non la può far l'arte Merlina.<sup>12</sup>

Spampanato's comment on Giordano Bruno's use of bucato<sup>13</sup> should include the exactly parallel developments of meaning in liscia, for the locution is far from being restricted to Sienna and Arezzo.

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<sup>32</sup> Poesie e prose di Francesco Melosio da Città della Pieve, Venetia, Prodocimo, 1678, p. 29.

3 Giordano Bruno, Candelaio, Bari, Laterza, 1909, p. 14.

### 4. A PASSAGE IN THE Danza de la Muerte

N stanza XLIII of this composition, Don falso abogado is addressed by Death as follows:

El Cino e el Bartolo e el Coletario Non vos librarán de mj poder mero.

Appel, in the notes to his edition (Breslau, 1902, p. 38), states that he has not been able either to determine who is meant by el Cole(c)-tario, or to discover a particular work so entitled. Marden, Mod. Lang. Notes, April, 1912, p. 123, appositely compares a similar passage in a poem by Juan Martínez de Burgos (Apéndice à las Memorias de Alfonso VIII, p. 134; also in Canc. de Baena, ed. Madrid, 1851, no. 340, st. 3):

Viene el pleyto á disputación. Allí es Bartolo é Chino, Dijesto, Juan Andres é Baldo, Enrique, do sson Mas opiniones que uvas en cesto.

The appearance, in this enumeration of jurists of the fourteenth century, of the word *Digesto* permits us to infer that in *el Coletario* there is to be sought not the name of some other jurisconsult—and as a matter of fact no such proper name has as yet become known—but a term designating either an official title or some legal work.

In the first-mentioned function, Collectarius is found in Cod. Just., 4, 2, 16, and Symm. Ep., 10, 49, with the significations of "money-changer, banker, cashier" (Harper, Lat. Dict., s. v.), which, as far as we know, were not applied to the personages in question.

Regarding the second alternative, we may cite the following definitions of the word *Collectarium* (also *Collectarius*) given by Du Cange, s. v.; (1) Idem quod *Collectaneum*, liber collectas continens; (2) Quod alii collectionem vocant; (3) Liber canonum ab Isidoro compositus.

As these definitions refer to works of an ecclesiastical character,

they do not argue in favor of such a title as el Collectario in our passage. It is not with the composition of a Collectarium, but of a Commentarium or Commentarius juris that both Cino and Bartolo are credited.

Thus we read in Fabricius, Bibliotheca latina mediae infimae aetatis, 1, 1063: "Cinus Pistorensis, praeceptor Bartoli JCti, Jus civile docuit Bononiae, compositisque in Digesta et Codicis Justiniani libros Commentariis decessit A. 1336." And in the Vita Bartoli, scripta à Thoma Diplovatatio, quoted by Fabricius, Biblioth. Graeca, vol. 12, cap 6, p. 551 "Composuit Bartolus mirabilia Commentaria in Jure Civili"; p. 558: "Bartolus . . . edidit mirabilia Commenta in Jure nostro; . . . ut eligant studiosi tanquam principatum tenantes inter Commentarios Juris, scilicet Joannem Andream in Jure Canonico, et Bartolum in Jure Civili."

In view of the facts here considered it may therefore be proper to conjecture that the correct reading in the passage under discussion is *el commentario*, a term referring individually to each of the two jurists before cited.<sup>2</sup>

# 5. SPANISH meldar

Stanza LXXI (ll. 561-568) of the same "Dance of Death" reads as follows:

Don sacristanejo de mala picanna, Ya non tenes tienpo de saltar paredes Njn de andar de noche con los de la canna, Faziendo las obras que vos bien sabedes. Andar a Rondar vos ya non podredes Njn presentar joyas a vuestra sennora; Sy bien vos quiere, quite vos agora.— Venjt vos, rrabí, acá meldaredes!

After dismissing Seelmann's explanation of *meldaredes* as a proper name, and concluding that this word must represent some verbal form, Appel (*l. c.*, p. 35-39) considers the fitness of S. Fraenkel's suggestion of a verb *medrasar* "to teach, preach, or dis-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> As for Baldus, cf. Fabricius, B. lat. 1, 444: Petrus Baldus Ubaldus, Perusinus, Bartholi discipulus, inter JCtos celebris, obiit A. 1400.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>a</sup> In the last line of st. XL of the *Danza*, *Death* says:

Dançad, abogado, dexad el dijesto.

cuss," to be derived from Hebrew Midrâsch, "doctrine, study," and proposes some such reading as: Venit vos, rrabí, no medrasaredes or e no medrasedes which, in his opinion, would fairly satisfy the sense, though not the textual tradition.

In Salvá's Diccionario, s. v. meldar, Appel would have found the definition: "Acudir á la sinagoga ú orar según el rito de los judíos." This interpretation of the verb may apply to the lines addressed by Román to El Ropero in Cancionero de Burlas, p. 90 (=Canc. Gen., 2, no. 994, st. 13):

> Trobad en corte de rey, en jubones remendar, trobad en ir a meldar, trobad en saber la ley. . . .

It is more likely, however, that in the passages cited meldar has the meaning 'to read' (leer) assigned to it years ago by Cuervo, Apuntactiones criticas (Chartres, 1885, 4ª ed.), p. xxiii, in illustrating the importance of Jewish texts for our knowledge of Old Spanish. Cuervo's definition of meldar is fully borne out by such levantine texts as those published by Grünbaum, Jüdisch-Spanische Chrestomathie (Frankfurt a/M., 1896). Cf., e. g., p. 48; Nuestro hijo se hizo grande y no anvisó a meldar (did not learn to read); 87: Meldarey en la ley de el Dios; 133: Y tu, hijico? Los Tudeschitos se rien de ti en la escola quando meldas, en tiempo que tienes tu razon de reir de ellos. Cf. also pp. 74, 93–94, 100, 104, 107, 112, 131, 135, 139, 143, 155. Beside meldar we find meldador 47, 144; meldadura 58.

In our passage, then, we may take meldaredes to signify: You will read in your (i. e., the Mosaic) Law.

#### 6. OLD PORTUGUESE brow

The first stanza of No. CXXXVII of the Liederbuch des Königs Denis (=Canc. Colocci-Brancuti, no. 414) reads as follows:

Mui melhor ca m'eu governo, o que revolv'o caderno governa, e d'inverno o vestem bem de brou, e jaz eno inferno
O que o guaanhou.

Not having found the word *brou* either in the Old Portuguese royal ordinances or elsewhere, I assigned to it in the notes and the vocabulary of my edition the meaning of "a kind of woollen cloth," which seemed to me indicated by the context.

In her review of my work, Z. f. r. Ph., 19, pp. 533 and 538, Madame Vasconcellos, seeking a more satisfactory form for this somewhat obscure and metrically defective stanza, adopted the following version:

Melyon que á meu governo, e que revolv'o caderno, no verão<sup>2</sup> e d'inverno, o vestem de brou, etc.

Without entering for the present into a discussion of the merits of the first two lines of this so ingeniously revised text, which represents a considerable departure from the original, we shall here only concern ourselves with the third and fourth lines as the ones more directly bearing upon the sense of the word in question.

As to the interpretation of brou as a kind of woollen or warm cloth, the learned lady dismisses it (l. c., p. 533) with the remark: "Die Bedeutung eine Art Wollenzeug (S. 141) ist aus der adverbialen Bestimmung d'inverno geschlossen. Ich lese aber no verão e d'inverno," without offering another explanation in its place.

A renewed search for brou in the sumptuary laws and other documents of the same and later periods having again failed to bring the word to light, the question presented itself whether its origin might not, like that of arras, raz, bruges and others, be revealed by a consideration of the names of places prominent in the Middle Ages for the manufacture of articles of clothing, etc.

In CV., 1132, 1-6, Pero Mendez de Fonseca mocks one who, as it were por sus bellidos ojos, had suddenly become Commander of Ucles:

<sup>2</sup> There is nothing in the transmitted text to support the proposed substitution of governa by no verão, an expression in which one misses furthermore the desirable syntactical symmetry with the antithetical d'inverno. In CV, 1146, 5-6, on the other hand, the emendation no verão e no inverno is clearly suggested by the original text:

Sempr' en uiuer aao lhe ueio trager Eno inuerno çaparo (read çapato) dourado.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See, e. g., Portugaliae Monumenta historica, Leges, pp. 193ff., and Sempere, Historia del Luxo. Madrid. 1788.

Chegou Paio de maas artes con seu cerame<sup>3</sup> de *Chartes*,<sup>4</sup> e non leeu el nas partes que chegasse a hūu mês, e do lũes ao martes foy comendador d'Ocrês.

From this we see that in the thirteenth century the proper name *Chartes* had come to be in Portugal an appellative signifying a kind of stuff.

In CV, 1080, 30-32, Don Affonso Lopes de Baiam, railing at an infançon, says:

e no escud'ataes lhe acharam: çeram'e cint'e calças' de Roam; sa catadura semelha d'ū iayam, . . .

At this period, therefore, as at the present day, Rouen was known to the Portuguese as "un centre de l'industrie textile, principalement pour la filature et le tissage du coton." In the price-list of cloths contained in *Portugaliae Monumenta*, etc., p. 194, we find *ingres* (= *inglês*) mentioned as one of the less expensive woollen stuffs: "et cobitus de ingres tinto in grana valeat 45 solidos."

Now, in view of these proper names used by the Portuguese of the time of King Denis in the sense of articles of wearing apparel, may we not take our enigmatic *brou* to be identical with the name of the French town *Brou* (not to be mistaken for the one whose church Matthew Arnold celebrates in song), in the Département d'Eure et Loir, near Châteaudun, of which La Grande Encyclopédie tells us, s. v.:

Brou est le siège de marchés et de foires très importants. . . . On y fabrique des serges et des étamines ainsi que de la faïence. Cette localité, que les textes mentionnent dès le XI° siècle sous le nom de Braiolum, était, au moyen-âge, le chef-lieu d'une des cinq baronnies du Perche-Gouet et était vassale de l'évêché de Chartres.

<sup>\*</sup> cerome. For a discussion of this word see Madame Vasconcellos, Revista lus., 3, 15-16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Neither this nor the following name are registered in the *Indice Onomastico* appended to the *Canzoniere della Vaticana*, published by E. Monaci, who, on the other hand, incorporated as proper names such words as *Alvyssara* (CV, 1173), the obvious equivalent of the Spanish albricias, and *Lelia Doura* (CV, 415).

calcas de roã.

<sup>\*</sup> La Grande Encyclopédie, s. v., Rouen.

It is true that the existence of a woollen industry in Brou to-day does not permit us to take the same for granted for the Middle Ages, and that I have not so far found evidence for it, but the cases of Chartres and Rouen, above cited, argue not a little in favor of such an assumption. If this be admitted, the interpretation of brou given in the Liederbuch, and the retention of the original text of lines 3 and 4:

governa, e d'inverno o vestem bem de brou<sup>7</sup>

appear fully justified.

As for the value of French ou in Portuguese, it is  $\hat{o}$  at the present day, if one may judge from the case of Moscou (= $Mosk\hat{o}$ ), the French form of the older Portuguese  $Moscovia.^8$  For the earlier period of the language, we have few, if any, examples to guide us. In view, however, of the appearance of brou in rime with guaanhou, and of the wedlock of vou with mostrou, estou, etc. (e. g., CA., 4264-6; 8707-8710), of vou with sou (< suu), as CA., 7126-7128; of sou with dou, achou, etc., as CM., 314 and p. 567, rimes which point to the diphthongal value of ou in Old Portuguese, we may assume brou to have been pronounced brou, unless we admit the use of an imperfect rime.

Considering, finally, the reading proposed by Madame Vasconcellos for the first two lines of our stanza, it may be said that apart from its deviation from the original, it appears questionable for other reasons. Not only is there nothing in the composition calling for the introduction of Melyon, the hero of two other burlesque songs of King Denis, Nos. CXXIX and CXXX (= CCB., 406 and 407), but there is a circumstance arguing directly against it. We have in all ten cantigas d'escarneo of Denis, preserved in Nos. 406-415 of the one Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti. Now, a glance shows these to fall into five groups, the first (406-407) railing at a certain Melyon Garcia, the second (408-410) at Joham Bolo, the third (411-412) at a Don Joam, the fourth (413-414) at two unnamed victims, and the last (415) at Joham Lymhon. In view of this

<sup>7</sup> In Madame Vasconcellos' revision this line is metrically incorrect.

<sup>\*</sup> See for this proper name Gonçalves Vianna, Rev. lus., 5, 78, where attention is called to the fact that Moscovia represents the Russian nominative-form Moskvá, while the French Moscovi is derived from the accusative-form Moskvú.

arrangement, we should not, without cogent reasons, introduce Melyon in the poem under discussion.

It seems advisable, therefore, to adhere to the original text reproduced in the Liederbuch with the exception of two slight changes demanded by the metre,<sup>9</sup> and to read thus:

> Melhor ca m'eu governo quen revolv'o caderno governa, e d'inverno o vestem bem de brou, e jaz en o inferno O que o guaanhou.

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°Cf. Tobler, Archiv f. d. St. d. N. S., 1895, p. 472.

### Colligere IN SPANISH

The Spanish derivativs ov colligere ar remarkabl for the diffrent forms that the stem assumes. Coller <\*colléyere and cuelgo < colligo need no comment. Later the influence ov coge chanjed these to coger and coxgo, just as  $ta\tilde{n}e < tangit$  produced  $ta\tilde{n}er$  for \*tanzer < tangere. Cuervo ses that the x ov coxgo ment a sound like French  $ch,^1$  but this cood hardly be so. Even if cuelgo became coxgo at a time hwen Spanish had voisless j, a voist fricativ wood be implied in coxgo by the Castilian principls ov sinthesis, hwich seem to agree with most ov the other Romance tungs on this point. The letter j cood not be uzed here, as it wood hav bin mistaken for i before a consonant. The displacement ov cuelgo wos perhaps parcialy du to the conflicting cuelgo < colloco.

Palatalized l commonly developt thru palatalized  $d^2$  to Castilian  $d\check{z}$ , hwence later  $\check{z}$  and  $\check{s}$ . But in the derivativ ov \*collierát, the palatal d came in contact with r. From petral < pectorale beside pechos < pectus, it is plain that the dental d ov  $codr\acute{a}$ , insted ov palatal d, is normal. A perfect parallel is found in medrar (= mejorar) < meliorare.

As Spanish has  $\tilde{n} < \tilde{n}y < \eta g$  in lue $\tilde{n}e$  and ta $\tilde{n}e$ , it mint be thoht that coge cood hav come from \*colget. But from the sound k in poco < paucu, beside the alterd t ov dedo < digitu, it seems plain that the y ov \*deyeto4 disappeard before the weak vouel wos lost. Hence \*collet < \*colleyet is more probably the sorce ov coge.

Menéndez Pidal thinks that se < ge < illi and cosecha < cogecha < collecta show paralel developments.<sup>5</sup> Thair apparent likeness is misleading; the results happen to agree, but the causes ov chanje wer diffrent. In gelo, as in Portugese *lheo* and Italian *glielo*, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Notas á la gramática de D. Andrés Bello, 83, Paris, 1898.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Modern Philology, VIII, 594.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> A form menciond but not explaind by Zauner, Altspanisches Elementarbuch, § 138, Heidelberg, 1908.

<sup>\*</sup> Not \*deyto, hwich wood hav made \*deto.

Gramática histórica española, § 94, Madrid, 1905.

Compare Ford, Old Spanish Sibilants, 130, Boston, 1900.

inicial palatal must be explaind by \*lyelo < \*liello < illi illu.\(^\text{T}\) Menéndez Pidal's idea that \*lle kept ll by "disimilación," before la or lo, seems to confuse modern palatal ll with Latin ll. Latin ll wos dental, so that \*llelo for \*lelo wood be opposed to the principl ov dissimilacion.\(^8\) If we find lle in Leonese, it is because this dialect agreed with Portugese and did not share the Castilian chanje ov palatal l to j.

The adjectiv collecho < collectu became cogecho thru the influence ov coger; by another analojy it became cogido and wos thus permanently separated from the noun cogecha. By dissimilacion the  $t\check{s}$  ov cogecha chanjed  $\check{z}$  (or  $\check{s}$ ) to voist (or voisless) s.

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\* Aratru makes arado, not \*arradro.

The chanje ov \*-ello to \*-elo may be ascribed to independent lo.

# **REVIEWS**

The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus Edited with Introduction and Notes, by WILFRED P. MUSTARD, Ph.D., Collegiate Professor of Latin in the Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1911. 12mo. Pp. 156.

Professor Mustard has done good service for various fields of study in this admirable edition of the Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus, the work once so popular both as a schoolbook and as a model of Christian poetry. The textual problems have been simplified by the editor basing his text upon that of the Mantuan editio princeps of 1498, accepting various editorial emendations of metrical errors, and noting the most important variants of other editions in the notes. An introduction of fifty pages gives an account of the life and works of the author, the chief sources of the book of Ecloques, its peculiarities of syntax, metre and vocabulary, and, most important of all, its influence on later writers. The thirty pages of notes leave nothing to be desired in the way of pointing out the specific indebtedness of Mantuan to his classic authors, and in identifying pseudo-classic names for modern localities. Little can be added by the critic of such a carefully made book. It would have been well to include the Cologne edition of 1510, that of Deventer of 1515, and that of The Hague of 1517, with those mentioned (35, n. 4). There can not be much doubt but that the Ecloques was the work of Mantuan, prescribed for use at St. Paul's School (37-8; cf. A. F. Leach, Proc. Brit. Acad., III, 305, 311-313), as it is probable that Milton first read there this book, of which he made use in the passages cited by Professor Mustard (52), and Cook (Mod. Lang. Rev., 121ff.). Barclay's five Egloges (48) were only printed in a dateless edition by J. Herford (1544-8), but the fifth one had already been printed without date by Wynkyn de Worde, d. 1534 (Duff, Hand-lists of English Printers, I, 21). Was the verse (I, 61), "Qui satur est pleno laudat ieiunia ventre" the source of the sixteenth century French proverb, "Quiconque a l'estomach plain bien peut jeuner" (Le Roux de Lincy, Proverbes franç., II, 386)? The regular English term is "Peter in Vinculis," so it is not necessary to use the Italian "Pietro in Vincoli" (125). Mantuan might well have taken his allusion to the wisdom of the ant (V, 36-8) from the Latin metrical version of the Physiologus (Migne, Patr. Lat., CLXXI, coll. 1219-1220), attributed to Theobaldus, an Italian (cf. Hauréau, Not. et Extr., VI, 155-6), of which a dozen editions were published before 1500. The editor has not noted that the widely spread story of the origin of social classes appears in Mantuan (VI, 1f.) for the first time (J. Bolte in V. Schumann, Nachtbüchleins, 403; A. L. Stiefel, Germania, XXXVI, 32; Stud. zur vergl. Literaturgesch., VI, 339). St. Jerome quoted with approval the proverb "Pinguis venter gignit sensum tenuem," a sentiment which appears in Mantuan's phrase "sed tu tam rudis es, tam pleno inflatus omaso," as well as in the English proverb "Fat paunches make lean pates," or again, "Full bellies make empty skulls." GEORGE L. HAMILTON.

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The Hindu-Arabic Numerals. By David Eugene Smith and Louis Charles Karpinski. Boston and London, Ginn & Company, publishers, 1911. 12mo. Pp. vi, 16o.

The title of this book suggests a subject far removed from the field of Romanic languages. Yet this account of the Hindu-Arabic numerals in Europe furnishes indications from which one may date with some assurance certain works, according as their authors have, or have not, used these numerals, the methods incidental to their use, and the early treatises devoted to their exposition. It is a good many years since anyone has attempted to make a survey of the work done in many diverse branches of erudition, and even a popular treatise on the subject, such as Professors Smith and Karpinski's book, is no slight task. If in the first chapter they have been dependant on secondary authorities, in the major portion of the volume they show a wide acquaintance with the texts and literature of mathematical history, pertinent to the question. But it is unfortunate that the authors have not confined their researches to matters on which they have either first-hand information or trustworthy guides. Thus their unnecessary treatment of the interrelations of Oriental and Occidental civilizations is unfortunate in more than one respect: the uncritical use of such antiquated or worthless books as Neander's History of the Christian Church, Libri's Histoire des sciences mathématiques, and Putnam's Books and Bookmakers during the Middle Ages; a lack of perspective, responsible for such statements as "Macedon, in close touch with southern France, was also sending her armies under Alexander through Afghanistan as far east as the Punjab" (76), "The spirit of the Orient showed itself in the songs of the troubadours, and the baudekin, the canopy of Bagdad, became common in the churches of Italy" (109); the mere lack of information in giving an account of the travels of "one Constantine, an African" (104), who is no less a person than Constantinus Africanus, the well known translator, one of the founders of the medical school of Salerno.

It would have been well to state the authority for attributing the Algorismus "Omnia que a primeva mundi origine" to John of Holywood (58, 134), an attribution that has been discredited more than once. Cantor in his effort to make a case for the priority of a German writer (Vorlesungen üb. d. Gesch. d. Mathematik, II, 2d ed., 64, cf. 613) has stated that the terms for zero "Cifra, circulus et figura nihili" are found in the Algorismus demonstratus, attributed to Jordanus Nemorarius, whom he identified with Jordanus de Saxonia who died in 1237, thereby antedating the work of John of Holywood. But it has been shown that this treatise was the work of a certain Gernardus, who wrote in the second half of the thirteenth century. The authors should have brought out these facts, which were known to them (125, n. 134, n. 2), or otherwise their readers will regard as an error an intentional omission. One source of information the authors might have investigated with profit was the catalogues of medieval libraries. Thus the single mention of an "Alchorismus" prior to the thirteenth century, found in Bekker's collection (Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui, p. 234), appears in the catalogue of St. Peter's Monastery at Salzburg, a fact especially noticeable, as the earliest trace in Germany of computation with the Hindu-Arabic numerals is to be found in an Algorismus of 1143, contained in a

manuscript, once in the Carmelite monastery at Ratisbon, which was in the same region of cultural influences as Salzburg (126; Curtze, as cited there, p. 2).

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Die Prosafassungen des Aymeri de Narbonne und der Narbonnais. By WALTHER SCHERPING. Halle, Buchdruckerei Hohmann, 1911. Pp. 192.

This volume follows the path blazd out by Johannes Weiske, in his discussion of the sources of the Old French prose version of Guillaume d'Orange (Halle, 1898). Mr. Fritz Reuter utilized the same manuscripts as Mr. Scherping (Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. fr. 1497 and MS. fr. 796), in his work, mentiond in this Review, II, pp. 462-66. Mr. Scherping accepts the conclusions of Mr. Weiske, in as far as they touch the Aymeri and the Narbonnais, and he seems to be content with the degree of scholarly accuracy displaid by his predecessor. The manuscripts to be deciferd were by no means easy, and we shud all feel under obligation to Mr. Scherping for his courage and application.

The author narrates (p. 66 ss.) the events of the prose Aymeri, and on p. 23 ss. those of the prose Narbonnais, drawing attention in clear manner to the differences between these versions and those of the poems. He places, correctly, I think, most of the alterations in the prose version to the account of the esthetic feeling of the unknown translator who turnd the poetry into prose. The lists of scenes omitted by the translator (pp. 20, 21, 36, 37) will be found valuable by one who has not the time to make a careful comparison of the two versions.

The most valuable part of the volume is of cours that (pp. 40-188) in which Mr. Scherping offers a transcription of the pertinent text in the two manuscripts mentiond above. It is becoming known that the accuracy of German scholarship in Romance paleografy leaves much to be desired. The present volume is no exception to the usual quality of German work in this field, as an examination of a few pages will show. I venture to offer the following corrections of

the text as offerd (vid. pp. 40-74).

P. 40, fifth line from the bottom: 1. arives.—P. 41, ninth line from bottom: 1. saillissent.-P. 42: fourth line of paragraf 3: 1. deporteroit instead of departiroit; the author, as too frequently, appears to have read into the MS. a form familiar to him .- P. 43, variants of B, line 2; the MS. has: busches merrain, and, in line 4 of variants, A has saroit, not sauoit.-Similarly, variant 8 of A p. 45, shud be habandonnerent .- P. 46, in fifth line: s'i, and not si; in ninth line from the bottom, the words bons et si have been omitted before fermes; four lines further: tonsjours certainly looks suspicious.-P. 47, first line of paragraf 10: insert a cy before devisseit, and four lines below, l. avons; in the variant markt 10, l. et dist instead of disant et dist .- P. 48, second line: l. Crit; third line: enques; fourth line: voirement; eighth line: scent; eleventh line: voirement; middle line on the page: souldoier, and, in same line, insert et after eaue; eighth line from bottom: 1. scela; in following line, sourvenoit; fifth line from bottom: 1. garandir, and Sy in line below; last line of page: 1. volut .- P. 49, sixth line: insert il before eust; three lines below: 1. Hugues; tenth line before close of chapter, 1. chascun; three lines further: par (in two cases); in the next line: em Champaigne; next to the last line: compaignier.-P. 50, in eleventh line: 1. relever, not reluer; seventh line from close of page, 1. colocqué, and, two lines below, avisé.-P. 51, second line of paragraf 3: 1. racontrer; sixth line of same paragraf: 1. probably aueques (?), and, in same line, 1. prolacion; just below the middle of the page: 1. tu vivre; six lines further on: it might be worth while to give the variant of B: domnation .-P. 52, sixth line: conseillie; in same line: 1. ci (?), and insert en before sera; in the following line, I. sur, not sour, and, six lines below, asses; in middle line of the page, 1. onnour .- P. 53, first line: Hemangart, not Hemengart (it will be notist that this lady is calld the dauter of Boniface, tho she has just been calld his sister and dauter of Desier (p. 52)); in eleventh line: insert me before convient.-P. 54, third line: 1 ouyt; in lines ten and eleven of paragraf 7, the MS. reads: quil lui, and, four or five lines below, dange.-P. 55, second line: 1. alemant; in the twelfth line of paragraf 8, 1. covoicteux, and entremis six lines below; in the third line before the close of this paragraf, l. deppendent; in the variants, under 5, omit B, and it may be worth while to add under variants of the first line of paragraf 8: B souldoier, also, from the same MS., the form vesselaige (cf. ninth line from close of paragraf mentiond above). The reader will read with interest in paragraf 8 the speech placed in the mouth of a German: "Je viengs de Nerbonne, myn here," fait il, "ou j'ay laissié Aymeri," etc.-P. 56, in the second line from the close of paragraf 9: the MS. bears: si demourerent par ce point delaie; in the fourth line from the bottom of the page, there shud be no t in the word press .- P. 57, fifth line of paragraf 11: 1. couchies; in the middle line of the page, several words have been omitted after Pavie: au quel lieu ils arriverent droit a ung jeudi .- P. 58: there is an error in the fifth line, where the MS. reads Milant, and an omission in the next line, after enquerir: et veoir; three lines below, there are omissions: after effroy, 1. et vint a la porte dont le pont estoit haulcie et si s'escria; in the second line from the close of chapter 12, I. fait il .- P. 59: in line fifteen, the form der is evidently a misprint for de; in the fifth line from the bottom of this page, B has embaxacteurs.—P. 60, in the fifth line of paragraf 15: l. iii l.,—that is, three livres instead of .xxx.; and in the ninth line from the close of the page, apelerent.-P. 61: third line of paragraf 16, 1. voulentiers, and in middle of paragraf, marchié, also, in following line, acort, instead of acont; in the first line of this paragraf, B has doulant .- P. 62, in line fourteen: 1. hanaps .- P. 63: there is an error which I am unable to correct in the line commencing Gerart.-P. 64, line ten: the word shud be lui, and, in the next line, I. avecques; in the third line of the succeeding paragraf, 1. pencoit.—P. 65, in the middle line; 1. hebergiés, and, in the third line from the bottom of the page (cf. variant), A bears pour, nor par .- P. 66, third line: I. bian, and in line five, plaingnent; in line fourteen, 1. saluent .- P. 67, paragraf 24, first line: B has messagiers, not as given in the variant; in the eighth line from the close of the page, l. mye .- P. 68, sixth line: 1. hebergiés; in the middle line, 1. vous instead of the possible misprint sous; in the eleventh line from the close of the page, I. habandonnez, and, in the last line, Et instead of Er .- P. 69, in the thirteenth line, 1. denners; in the third line from end of paragraf 26, 1. demender, instead of demendre.-P. 70, first line: 1. tramis in variants, for B.—P. 71, line welve: 1. avis, instead of amis, a serious blunder; in line three of paragraf 29, l. saluent .- P. 72, in the line below the middle commencing vaillant, there is a que before the qu'il, and, in the same line, the MS. has fille, not ville (il y a une fière difference!); in the next line, the word

is pos, and later in the same line, taisir; in the second line of paragraf 31, 1. samblant.—P. 73, ninth line from close, 1. vous y respondre.—P. 74, in the next to the last line of Chapter III, 1. enbuschemens.

R. W.

Zur Sprachlichen Gliederung Frankreichs. Von HEINRICH MORF. Aus den Abhandlungen der königl. preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften vom Jahre 1911. Mit 4 Tafeln. Berlin, 1911. Gelesen in der Sitzung der philosophisch-historische Klasse am 30 November, 1911.

In this book, quarto in format but containing only 37 pages, we have a contribution, graphic and significant, on the subject of the dialectal delimitation of France. It is graphic because of its clear and orderly presentation, vivified by excellent maps, and it is significant because of the problems it raises and the conclusions it reaches.

In a graceful opening, wherein we see Conon de Béthune with his Picard tongue embarrassed and annoyed by the gibes of the Court, the initial question is raised—that of the striking differences in 1180 between the Picard and the Ile-de-France speech. But the Belgoroman speech area included then not only Picardy but the Wallon country, and three conservative features in particular threw it into contrast with the Celtoroman (French). (1) Lat. stopped e before a nasal. Lat. ventu and infante, for example, became in Belgoroman  $\tilde{v}$ ,  $\tilde{e}$  instead of  $v\tilde{a}$ ,  $\tilde{a}$  f $\tilde{a}$  as in Celtoroman. (2) Lat. c before e, i. Lat. cervu, cinere, pulice became  $\int er$ ,  $\int \tilde{e} dr$ ,  $\int yf$  instead of ser,  $s\tilde{a}dr$ , pys. (3) Lat. c before a. Lat. cattu, caricare, ecce hoc est carum gave ka, karke, fe ker and not fa, farze, se fer. With Gilliéron and Edmond's Atlas linguistique de la France as a basis Professor Morf now determines the areas of these three distinctive traits of the Belgoroman. The notation used is that of the International Phonetic Association, which the author employs in his work in Berlin.

From the available words of the Atlas, he selects to illustrate the first isophone  $\tilde{\epsilon}$  the word fente (Fren. fāt, Pic. f $\tilde{\epsilon}i$ ). The boundary line of the speech area runs from the Channel near the dividing line of the departments Somme and Seine-Inférieure and down across the department Aisne almost to Pontoise where it turns eastward and follows rather closely the course of the river Oise, embracing Walloon. Three-fourths of the area lies in France and but one-fourth in Belgium. There are some vacillations between  $\tilde{\epsilon}$  and  $\tilde{a}$  in the Belgian area, evidencing modern French influence, but there are practically none

in the French, which remains constant to the sound ?.

Lat. calciare > Fr. chausser, Pic. kofe has been used for the isophone f. The original Belgoroman speech area of f comprised the whole north, its centre, Picardy, was flanked by Walloon and Normandy. The modern area however does not include Walloon whose earlier f has become s through its own development. Normandy now is being lost to the area but for another reason, the Celtoroman s is driving out the f. Even Picardy is yielding to the invasion, witness the pronunciation in many quarters of cerf and cidre.

Lat. cattu, Fr. fa, Pic. ka represents the third isophone k and a comparison of the areas of the second and third sounds now reveals the important fact that the lines are almost identical. One cannot avoid the conclusion that the processes of palatalization of Lat. ce(i)- and ca- must have an intimate inner

relation.

The author now opens up the question of these processes of palatalization—an inadequate term, by the way, for a process of which only the first stage is palatalization—over the Romance field and with suggestive results. The Rhaetian dialects in particular furnish data for the determination of the stages of the evolution and these stages probably hold good for the Romance languages in general. Examples in Rhaetian are extant for all the following stages as concerns Lat. ce(i)-: Lat.  $cena > k\chi ena > tfena > tsena > \theta ena$  and even  $\chi ena$ , fena, sena are found. Examples of all of these stages except  $k\chi$  are or were found in the Romance tongues. As for Lat. ca- the palatalization is the same as far as it goes but it started later. Coming back to France, where Lat. ce(i)- has resulted in s, examples of both older and more recent stages are found. More recent stages than that of s are seen when Lat. cinere has become  $\theta e d r a$ , h e d r a, h e d r a, and even e d r a.

Thus, the position for Lat. ce(i)- in France is: the whole centre, west and south, five-sixths of the land, have s, the Franco-provençal districts show still

more recent stages, whilst the Belgoroman in the north have f.

Still more complicated is the position as regards Lat. ca. Here, a strip in the south broader still than the Belgoroman area in the north has preserved the ka stage, so that one fourth of Gallia belongs to the isophone k. The middle area, in which the f stage has been reached, counts for more than one half. In the remaining fourth tf, ts and more recent stages are found. Walloon started the palatalization independently but late and has reached the tf stage.

Some conclusions seem deducible from the foregoing. The original unity of the old Belgoroman area, embracing Walloon, Picardy and Normandy is evident. But Normandy is yielding to Celtoroman influences more than Picardy, where k still controls the situation. Here we must note, however, a secondary palatalization in the case of such a word as Lat. caru > Pic. ker, which is heard

as kxer; some Celtoroman influence is sporadically noticeable as well.

The boundary lines of the three Pic. isophones  $(\vec{\epsilon}, f, k)$  are now combined on one chart. The lines running north and south differ since the first isophone area excludes Normandy and includes Walloon whilst the two latter do the opposite. On the contrary, the three lines run together east and west from Trélon to Gisors, a stretch of 200 km., and it is evident that there is here a genuine dialect boundary, pointing back historically to some significant conditions of intercourse. These the author finds in the former episcopal dioceses. The coincidence, when both sets of lines—of the isophones and of the dioceses—are laid upon the same charts, is striking indeed. The characteristic Belgoroman speech traits of  $\vec{\epsilon}$ , f, k, standing for ten per cent. of the vocabulary, stop at the boundary lines of the dioceses (civitates) Bellovacensis, Novimensis and Cameracensis.

To entirely settle the question, specialized local investigations are necessary to supplement the data of the Atlas and such studies would be valuable. The author believes that not only in Gailia but also throughout Romania it will be found that the ancient ecclesiastical division of the country has much to do with the dialectal boundaries. As partial evidence in favor of this assumption he cites a former study of his as concerns the bishoprics of Lyon and Vienne. (An obvious misprint occurs here on page 29, line 8, where 814 should be 816.) The same thesis would explain a remark of Passy's of some twenty years ago to the

effect that a sharp dialect boundary separated Plombières from Val-d'Ajol, for which neither the topography of the country nor history furnished the explana-

tion. The former church division gives this explanation.

The dialectal significance of these ecclesiastical boundaries, which we are now beginning to recognize, was not unknown to the Middle Ages. The Leys d'Amors appeal to the diocese as a decisive speech entity and direct that in doubtful cases of speech usage the poet shall keep to that form of expression which is common to a whole diocese (acostumat cominalmem per tota una diocesi).

The final stage of the argument is that the episcopal areas, these areas of intercourse which remained stationary whilst the political areas wavered and changed, were based upon the ethnical partition of the country and that in the constitution which Augustus gave to the tres Galliae, the Roman bishoprics (civitates) corresponded to the Gallic gentes. These episcopal districts of France maintained in general the old Gallic racial boundaries until 1790.

But the dialectal dividing line of old Belgium cleaves through the middle leaving the Bellovaci, Viromandui and the Nervii to the north and assigning the Suessiones and the Remi of the southeastern part to the Celtoroman or French idiom. This division is fairly well authenticated even in the Middle Ages. Here we have a historico-cultural problem. Apparently the romanization of these southeastern tribes came from the south and the author believes that that of the north proceeded along that Roman road which came from Köln am Rhein through Tongern, Bavai, Cambrai, etc., as shown on his fourth chart.

In the Bulletin de dialectologie romane, I, 14sq., Professor Morf has tried to show that the romanizing of middle Gaul, resulting in the Celtoroman idiom, came from Lugdunum (Lyon). It spread west along that great central Roman road to Bordeaux, checking any further advance on the part of the Narbonese (Provençal) and Aquitanian (Gascon) idioms of the south and proceeded north till it met the frontier of that sturdy Belgoroman, which only to-day is beginning to weaken. But race boundaries become and remain speech areas only in so tar as they are areas of intercourse. Therefore these racial limits have been preserved or changed according to their coincidence with the episcopal dioceses, within which mutual contact was maintained.

Thus on the basis of the tres Galliae of Caesar, the Belgae, the Celtae and the Aquitani, we have the three dialects of the Picard, the French and the Aquitanian (Gascon), diffused along the Roman highways but delimited in the main not by the three Roman provinces of Belgica, Lugdunensis and Aquitania

but rather by the boundaries of the civitates.

A descriptive account of this study of the French dialects must be inadequate as much of its value—and its value lies also greatly in its method—is appreciated only on examination of the accompanying charts. The work admirably illustrates a sentence of Professor Meyer-Lübke's to the effect that "the rise and development of the Romance languages in its large outline appeals to the imagination as a vast historical phenomenon closely bound up with the fate of nations."

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Contributions à l'étude des Romans de la Table Ronde. Par J. Loth. Paris, 1912. 127 pages in 8°.

With the exception of a few short articles on the Mabinogion, M. Loth's volume is devoted to the romance of Tristan. In the chapter entitled Le Cornwall et le roman de Tristan we have an elaborate effort to determine the localization of the romance. M. Loth's purpose is to prove that the lost source of the Thomas and the Béroul versions was composed in Cornwall. He takes as his starting point the Lancien mentioned as the residence of King Mark in Béroul and in a passage in Gerbert's Perceval. He identifies this with the village now called Lantien or Lantyan (pronounced Lantin), situated on the Fowey river in Cornwall. This village appears to have been the center of an important manor in the Middle Ages. It appears in the Doomsday Book as Lantien and Lanthien. The forms of the name recorded in the thirteenth century testify to the pronunciation Lantsien. M. Loth offers the following evidence that this is the Lancien referred to in the Tristan story: When Mark receives Isolt on her return from the forest, she offers thanksgiving at Saint Samson's. Mark takes an oath in one case (Béroul, 3136) by Saint Andrew, in another (Béroul, 3074) by St. Stephen. Now, the parish to which Lantien belongs is generally called St. Samson's, and this parish is a dependency of the priory of Tywardreath, which is under the patronage of St. Andrew. Near Parva Lantien there is a parish called St. Stephen's. There exists, in the vicinity of Lantien, a Kilmarth, which M. Loth emends to Kilmarch and interprets as Mark's Retreat. Some miles south of Lantien, there is a cliff with which is associated a tradition of a miraculous leap, supposed to have been made in the reign of Henry VII, by a certain Bodrigan in order to escape from his enemies. The promontory is called Chapel Point from an old chapel which is said to have stood there. The vicinity in not without a Mal Pas and a Blanche Lande (which M. Loth takes to be a translation of the Cornish Tir-gwynn. p. 126). In the same district is a Moresc, appearing in the Doomsday Book as Moireis (which M. Loth emends to Morreis), and in a document of 1205 as Morres. At the southeast extremity of Moresc, there is a town designated in the tenth century as Custentin, to which refer, perhaps, the words of Tristan:

> Tel saut feïstes qu'il n'a home Se il le vit n'en ait hisdor De Costantin entres qu'a Rome. (Béroul, 2384)

It would seem to us a necessary preliminary for M. Loth's study to exclude the names and indications which have been introduced into the story subsequent to the redaction which he is considering, the redaction termed by M. Bédier the poème primitif. M. Loth sometimes discusses passages which were almost cer-

¹M. Loth follows M. Bédier in supposing that the author of this poem created the story—that before him there existed only a few episodes relating ruses employed by Tristan against Mark. I have pointed out in a more extensive study (Tristan and Isolt, a study of the sources of the romance, Frankfurt am Main, to appear in 1913), that it is impossible to consider the source of the Thomas and Béroul versions, which M. Bédier terms the poème primitif, the first tragical treatment of the story of Tristan and Isolt. The source of Béroul and Thomas, the poème primitif, was the redaction of an older poem, just as the Thomas and Béroul versions are redactions of the poème primitif.

tainly introduced by later redactors. We shall mention only two of numerous examples.

In looking for an island which may have served as the scene of the Morholt combat, M. Loth follows the indications in Gottfried's version that the island is not far from the royal residence, and so close to the shore that the combat is visible to the spectators assembled there. M. Loth finds an island, known as Looe Island, or George's Island, or St. Nicholas' or St. Michael's Island, directly off the coast, eight miles from Lantien. But the royal residence designated in Gottfried is Tintagel, not Lancien, and a poet so far from accurate in preserving the tradition of the royal residence cannot be trusted in his indications of the location of the island. The position of the island near the shore and the crowd of spectators are stereotyped details in the accounts of island combats in twelfth century romances.2 The Eilhart version, which follows the poème primitif much more closely than does Thomas, represents the combat as occurring under different circumstances. In the Prose Romance and in Erec the Morholt combat is described as taking place on an island called Saint Samson. M. Loth also includes in his discussion of the geography of the poème primitif, the Ermenie which Thomas represents as the domain of Tristan's father. This Ermenie belongs with the other details recognized by M. Bédier as the inventions of

The lost source of Béroul and Thomas, which M. Bédier terms the poème primitif, contained a certain number of names of persons and places. M. Loth believes that if he can show that all of these were current in Cornwall, he will have determined the place of its composition. This seems to us a mistake. Only a few of the names can be considered specifically Cornish, and these may have survived in the poème primitif, as in the extant redactions, from earlier redactions. It seems probable that the story was at some time localized in Cornwall.

The place of composition of the bodme primitif is another problem.

One of M. Loth's articles is on the question Le drame moral de Tristan et Iseut est-il d'origine celtique? M. Bédier had inferred from the fact that the Welsh laws mention compensation for marital infidelity, that the love of Tristan and Isolt would not be considered among the Celts a theme for tragic treatment. M. Loth points out that the laws cited by M. Bédier are not peculiar to the Celts. Marriage is universally considered among Indo-European peoples as a contract by which the woman passes from the possession of her father into that of the man who purchases her. Adultery is thus an infringement on the husband's rights of ownership and he is accordingly entitled to satisfaction. Compensation for this infringement is part of the legal code of all Indo-European peoples. If a tragedy of Tristan and Isolt is impossible among a people whose laws provide for compensation for adultery, it is universally impossible.

M. Loth has thus successfully disproved M. Bédier's statement that it is impossible to consider that the moral conflict in Tristan is of Celtic origin. But he has done little to establish a probability that the story was actually invented by the Celts. He considers the pride of the Celts in the purity of their race (a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For a discussion of the stereotyped character of the island combat in Tristan, see Radcliffe Monographs, No. 15, The Island Combat in Tristan.

Bédier, Le roman de Tristan par Thomas, Soc. des anc. textes fr., II, 197-9.
 Hephaistos claims compensation when he discovers Aphrodite with Ares.

trait mentioned by Giraldus Cambrensis) as an indication that they would judge adultery with especial severity. But the romantic literature of Ireland in the twelfth century reflects customs very different from those observed by Giraldus Cambrensis. The heroes of Old Irish romance, as of every primitive literature, are almost without exception the fruit of irregular unions. On the other hand we find tragic stories of unlawful love in the pagan as well as the Christian literature of Ireland. In certain of these stories we find striking similarities to the poème primitif. We should have wished that M, Loth had cited a larger number of Celtic texts in order to aid us to form an idea of what was the literary attitude of the Celts toward adultery.

M. Loth again takes up the vexed question of the names of Tristan and Isolt. He concludes that the forms Etthilt and Essylt are different writings for the same name, containing a sound which was represented by the Welsh sometimes by tth, sometimes by ss. The French Isolt he considers to be derived from a Welsh or Cornish Essylt influenced by the Germanic Ishild. The name Tristan (<Drüstäno-) is common to all the Celts. ä, ö weakened in Welsh in the ninth and tenth century and was written i. This was replaced in the next century by y, a writing borrowed from the Anglo-Saxons. A similar development seems to have taken place in Cornwall. Transmitted by the Gaels, the name would have remained Trostan (as in Trostans-fiorb, the name of a place in Iceland mentioned in the Landnamabbe"); transmitted by the Bretons it would have become Trestan (as in Insula Trestanni). Criticism of M. Loth's conclusions on these points we must leave to experts in Celtic linguistics.

In his article on Le bouclier de Tristan M. Loth calls attention to the statement in Gottfried von Strassburg that Tristan carries a shield bearing the image of a boar. This trait M. Loth takes to indicate Celtic origin, since the boar seems to have been a favorite emblem among the Indo-Europeans, and, according to M. Loth, especially among the Celts. He suggests that the Celtic word for the front of the shield, Ir socc, Welsh swch, may be traceable to \*succu meaning swine, and that the expression used in the Old Irish romances, Do-geis a sciath, the shield bellowed, implies an habitual verbal association of shield with boar.

It seems to us dangerous, upon the basis of such general considerations, to attribute to the Celts a trait which appears in a conventional description in one text of the Tristan story. Figures of wild animals, among them the wild boar, were the favorite devices of the heroes of mediaeval French and German romance. In Konrad von Würzburg's Partonopier und Meliur, the king of Morocco wears a boar on his shield:

er fuorte in eime velde blå von golde ein wildez eberswin.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For a discussion of these stories see the study referred to in note I, p. 43I, above.

<sup>18</sup> Note misprint, Loth, p. 20, Irlande for Islande.

<sup>\*</sup>Cf. Alwin Schulz, Das höfische Leben zur Zeit der Minnesünger, I, p. 91 ff; A. Sternberg, Die Angriffswaffen im altfranzösischen Epos, Marburg, 1886.

Konrads von Würzburg Partonopier und Meliur, ed. K. Bartsch, Wien, 1871, 1. 15838 ff.

In the Pleier's Meleranz:

ouch fuorte der degen snel ûf einem schilde, der was gel, einen eber zobelin, undr einem buckel guldin, der muotes unberoubet. von zobel ein ebers houbet man uf sinem helme sach.

In Foulques Fitz-Warin

E prent le vert escu a deus senglers d'or batu.º

The expression "the shield growled" would be appropriate in reference to any of the wild animals with which mediaeval warriors ornamented their shields. According to a passage in the Yellow Book of Lecan, the lion was the favorite device of the Irish as of the French and Germans.

"Lumman was a name for every shield; that is, Leoman (a lion); because there is no shield without the picture of a lion inscribed on it, in order that its hatefulness and its terror might be the greater, because the lion is a furious,

combative, fighting animal."

Nevertheless the device on the shield of each of the Irish warriors seems to have been different from that of every other. Cuchullin gives the following

directions to Mac Engé the smith:

"Make a shield for me," said he, "and let me not find upon any other shield of the shields of the Ultonians the same carved devices that shall be on it." "I cannot undertake that," said Mac Engé, "because I have exhausted my art on the shields of the Ultonians."

Mac Engé is saved from his difficulty by the appearance to him in a vision of a man who draws geometrical designs for the shield with a great fork in

the ashes.

M. Loth publishes for the first time two fragments of a Welsh poem from the Black Book of Carmarthen. The poem contains the name Drystan. We are less sanguine than M. Loth as to the possibility of interpreting its rhetoric as

referring to the tradition with which we are familiar.

In addition to the Tristan studies, there are several essays on the Mabinogion.

M. Loth accepts the meaning for Mabinogion given in the Iolo Mss., and inclines to the following etymology: mebin, place for young men, place where youths were instructed, or person who instructs youths; mabinog, one who is under instruction. Mabinogion would accordingly mean disciples.

M. Loth considers Kilhwch and Olwen anterior to the French romances and to Geoffrey's Historia, dating it between the middle of the eleventh and the

beginning of the twelfth century.

According to M. Loth, the word tut of Morgan Tut in Geraint is cognate with the Irish tuath, meaning magician. The feminine of tuath is ban-tuath.

<sup>\*</sup> Meleranz, von dem Pleier, ed. K. Bartsch, Stuttgart, 1861, 1. 8159 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Cited by Godefroy, Complement (vol. x) s. v. sengler from Foulques Fitz-Warin, Nouv. fr. du XIV s., p. 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Cited by O'Curry, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish, II, p. 327.
<sup>11</sup> Cited by O'Curry from MS. H. 3. 17 Trinity College, Dublin, op. cit. II, p. 329.

The masculine form leads M. Loth to infer that the Welsh writer was following a Norman original, fix in the Norman dialect being masculine.

It is to be hoped that the present study will be but the first in a series in which M. Loth will treat in extenso all the problems on which he here offers such interesting suggestions. The understanding of Arthurian romance can be furthered only by the collaboration of all the scholars who, like M. Loth, are able to bring to it a first hand knowledge of the Celtic dialects.<sup>12</sup>

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY.

G. SCHŒPPERLE.

Elliptical Partitiv Usage in Affirmativ Clauses in French Prose of the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. By Percival Bradshaw Fax. Paris, Champion, 1912. (Doctor's dissertation for Johns Hopkins University.)

In this thesis, (notice, by the way, the reformed spelling) the author has evidently aimed to make a well-classified catalog of facts. Taking in order the substantive in its principal functions (1°) as direct object without a preceding adjective, as direct object with a preceding adjective; (2°) as subject nominative with and without a preceding adjective; (3°) as predicate nominative with and without a preceding adjective; (4°) after a preposition with and without a preceding adjective, for the three centuries, examples of the use of the partitive as expressed by de + article, or by de alone, (1°) when the totality of which the substantive is a part is present to the hearer's mind, (2°) when it is not present.

A numerical summary after each division brings before the reader's eyes the relative proportion of the different uses in the various authors cited.

The latter are limited in number, but represent fairly well the different styles. Thus for the fourteenth century we have: Archives administratives de la ville de Reims, Les contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon, Le Traictié de la première invention des monnoies de Nicole Oresme, Chroniques de Froissart, La chasse de Gaston Phoebus, comte de Foix, Melusine, par Jehan d'Arras.

The author does not advance any new theory. He enumerates the principal explanations regarding the introduction of the article in the partitive expression: whether it was, according to MM. Meyer-Lübke and Tobler, brought about by the need of distinguishing the plural from the singular de and des, when the disappearing pronunciation of s in the plural had made it somewhat imperative to find means to that effect; or else, and Dr. Fay inclines toward this explanation, caused by the gradually waning distinction between the uses of de and de + the definite article for the expression of the partitive idea, the former referring originally to a part of an indeterminate quantity, the latter to a part of a determinate one, according to S. Schayer's theory. Dr. Fay thinks that the

The articles which form M. Loth's volume are reprinted from the Revue Celtique XXX, 270-82, XXXII, 296 ff., 407 ff.; XXXIII, 249 ff., 258 ff. It is regrettable that M. Loth has so infrequently indicated previous investigations. He seems to have overlooked for example (p. 94), M. F. Lot's interesting article on Gondoine (Rom. XXXV, 605-8) and Novati's note on Costentin (Studi di filologia romanza, II, 397 n.) The absence of an index makes the book difficult to consult, and misprints are sometimes disconcerting.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Zur Lehre vom Gebrauch des unbestimmten Artikels und des Teilungsartikels im Altfranzösischen und im Neufranzösischen, Berlin, 1897.

confusion has become complete at the time of the Heptameron. Then, as is the case to-day, "des chevaliers" does no longer mean "some of the knights spoken of above" but simply "some knights."

However, as early as the fourteenth century the author already cites numerous examples of a use of the partitive similar to the modern, although it is not until the beginning of the fifteenth century that it is found with abstract nouns.

As a catalog of facts, this is a very good piece of work.

HENRI F. MULLER.

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Œuvres de François Rabelais. Édition critique publiée par Abel Lefranc, Jacques Boulenger, Henri Clouzot, Paul Dorveaux, Jean Plattard et Lazare Sainéan. Tome premier. Gargantua. Prologue-Chapitres I-XXII. Paris, Honoré et Édouard Champion, 1912. Pp. clvi, 214.

At the beginning of 1903, M. Abel Lefranc, aided by a group of his disciples in the École pratique des Hautes Études of the Sorbonne, organized the Société des Études rabelaisiennes, the chief aim of which was to be the preparation of a critical edition of the works of Rabelais. A few months later the Revue des Etudes rabelaisiennes, the organ of the Société, was founded. An extraordinary revival of interest in matters pertaining to Rabelais immediately followed. The Revue published articles of every nature relating to Maitre François, his works, his friends, his time, and his surroundings. The Master's life was gradually disentangled from the web of legends that had so long enwrapped it; the old and worn-out allegorical interpretation of Gargantua and Pantagruel was replaced by a scientific, realistic interpretation. Now, after ten years of untiring labor by scores of zealous contributors, the cream of the articles published in the Revue is being converted into the apparatus criticus of the present edition of Rabelais. In 1907 Marquise Arconati Visconti won the gratitude of every true Rabelaisant by donating forty thousand francs (which she later increased to fifty thousand) to defray the expenses incurred in the preparation of the text, variants, commentaries, glossary, etc.

The editor-in-chief of the critical edition is M. Abel Lefranc, Professor at the Collège de France and President of the Société des Études rabelaisiennes since its foundation. Associated with M. Lefranc are five of the principal contributors to the Revue: M. Jacques Boulenger (establishment of the text and variants), M. Henri Clouzot (topography and local allusions, folk-lore, archæology and history), M. Paul Dorveaux (medicine, pharmacopœia, and natural sciences), M. Jean Plattard (writers and texts of antiquity and of the humanism of the Renaissance), and M. Lazare Sainéan (philology, lexicography, and lan-

guage of the sixteenth century).

The Introduction is mainly the work of M. Lefranc, who deals concisely with many important features in the biography of Rabelais and the history of Gargantua, such as, Rabelais before the publication of Gargantua; the date of the publication of Gargantua; the chronology of Rabelais' early works; the preparation of Gargantua; a hypothetical visit by Rabelais to the Chinonais in September and October, 1532; Rabelais and the Sorbonne; Rabelais and the royal government; Gargantua and the Reformation; the origin and history of the Gargantuan legend; the authorship of the Grandes et inestimables Cronicques. . . .

The most important part of the Introduction is the chapter entitled la Réalité dans le roman de Rabelais et spécialement dans le Gargantua. "A mirror of the times and of the life of its author: these two words can define . . . the work of him whom Chateaubriand has been able to call the 'creator of French letters." "A mirror of the times: it is now unquestionable that Rabelais associated himself with . . . all the preoccupations of his time: with the enterprises of the royal government, with political problems, with geographical and colonial aims, with moral, religious, and even learned disputes, with social and worldly controversies, etc." And not only did Rabelais take an interest in the great questions of his period and reflect them in his writings, but he also frequently increased the realism and vividness of Gargantua and Pantagruel by giving them a setting drawn from the scenes about him. This is especially true of Gargantua. This immortal work is composed chiefly of the enfances of Gargantua and the Picrocholine War. M. Lefranc proves indisputably that the scenes described in these two episodes are scenes around Rabelais' birthplace, la Devinière, near Chinon, and that the greater part of the persons mentioned are friends and contemporaries of the author. In 1911 the writer of the present article, Gargantua in hand, rambled over the scene of the Picrocholine War, and was filled with wonder at Rabelais' descriptions which, although written nearly four centuries ago, still correspond unerringly with the present condition of things, even in such transitory features as fences, trees, dwellings, etc. The most illiterate peasants of the little region can relate the deeds of Grandgousier, Gargamelle, and Gargantua. For them, however, Rabelais has remained the Rabelais of the legend, a Rabelais fabricated from his own tales, or as a grimy son of the glebe expressed it: farceur, blagueur, buveur, coureur de femmes.

In his treatment of Gargantua's education, M. Plattard shows how the young giant's training is divided into two principal episodes: a picture of the scholastic education under Thubal Holopherne and Jobelin Bridé, and a program of the new education according to humanistic ideals under Ponocrates, Gymnaste, and Anagnostes. M. Plattard very justly emphasizes the fact that Rabelais caricatures the old educational system in order to make the new all the more attractive. The critic singles out three innovations introduced by Maître François: (1) Object lessons, education through the senses, observation of trades; (2) Union of physical culture and intellectual and moral culture; (3) Extensive hygienic prescriptions. M. Plattard also calls attention to the practices of the past which Rabelais retains: memorizing and exclusively oral instruction.

In the few pages that he devotes to Thélème, M. Plattard discusses the rôle of Frère Jean des Entommeures, monastic institutions, and various points relating to Thélème itself: the inmates and the architecture of the proposed abbey, the dress and daily life of the Thelemites. "Rabelais condemns monasticism," says M. Plattard, "in the name of the law of nature. Monachal asceticism is opposed to the very sense of life. The ideal religion is that which shall be instituted just the reverse of ordinary monastic rules: it is that of Thélème." "The conception of Thélème, indeed, is not merely the dream of a monk impatient of monastic discipline and traditions. It is based upon the principles of that naturalistic philosophy which is the expression of Rabelais' temperament

and of his understanding of life. Fais ce que vouldras is a rule of conduct which he deems sufficient for people of honor. Left undirected, nature tends to virtue. Constraint and servitude pervert it. Rabelais, as usual, does not establish this philosophic principle by means of a regular argument; he merely

sets it forth. It is an act of faith in the goodness of human nature."

After a critical examination of the editions of Gargantua published during Rabelais' lifetime, M. Boulenger decides that the critical edition should be based upon La vie treshorrificque du grand Gargantua, pere de Pantagruel..., Lyon, F. Juste, 1542, the last text revised and corrected by Rabelais himself, with variants from two editions by F. Juste, prior to 1535, and 1535, and from the edition s. l. 1537, the corrections of which, if not by Rabelais, were at least known to him and later adopted by him. M. Boulenger promises a detailed bibliography later.

A few words by M. Sainéan upon the method that he has employed in preparing the philological notes, and an exhaustive Chronologie de la vie de

François Rabelais, by M. Clouzot, complete the Introduction.

The notes to Volume I are all that could be desired. They generally give final results, and not the discussions which have led to these results. How well the annotators have performed their task may be seen by consulting the notes of Chapter V, Les propos des bien yvres. Attention may be also called to Chapter XXII, Les jeux de Gargantua, upon which much light was thrown by the articles published by M. Michel Psichari in the Revue. The editors gain the reader's confidence at once by not trying to explain the inexplicable. It is pleasing to see, for example, that the suggestion is made that the Fanfreluches antidotées may be only sheer nonsense.

Volume I contains the excellent maps of the Chinonais, Chinon, and the region around la Devinière, which were published by M. Clouzot in the Revue in 1911. Perhaps it would have been better if it had been made clear on the maps that the location of several places, of the bois de Vède, for example, is

wholly conjectural.

R. L. HAWKINS.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

The Oak Book of Southampton of c. A. D. 1300. Transcribed and Edited from the unique MS. in the Audit House, with Translation, Introduction, Notes, Etc. By P. Studer. Vol. II. Southampton, Cox & Sharland, 1911. Pp. lxxi + 145. Also Supplement, same publishers and date.

A notice of Vol. I of this valuable work appeared in Vol. II, p. 229 of this Review. Volume I treats mainly of the rise to power of the Guild Merchant at Southampton. Vol. II concerns mostly the external relations of Southampton, its disputes and contentions with ecclesiastical and royal authority, its intercourse with the order of the Hospitalers (chapter X gives the Charter of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, 1328), and, above all, a version of the celebrated Rolls of Oleron, which form the basis of modern maritime law. The editor discusses the theories of Pardessus, Verwer, Twiss and Kiesselbach, and sees no reason to dout that the Rolls first assumd form and were consignd to writing in southern France. A facsimile from the Rolls is prefixt to the volume.

The Supplement (pp. vii + 156) contains a beautiful facsimile from that

part of the MS. which treats of the Guild Merchant, some valuable notes on the Anglo-French dialect of Southampton, glossary and indexes. In these notes, Professor Studer discusses, among other points, the changes in English vocabulary and syntax brot about thru the French ("the change has been so great that to the uninitiated the English of the eleventh century is harder to understand than the French of the same period"); the caracter and traits of the French invaders; the importance of Anglo-French literature; Anglo-French the language of Law and Commerce in England ("French, moreover, was not only the language of the upper classes, the court and the nobility, the favourite medium of law and literature, but it was also the language of commerce both by sea and land"; again: "The persons admitted into the Guild were not scholars, but merchants and artisans. If French had not been perfectly familiar to them, they would at least have taken their oath in English"); Anglo-French in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (the editor does not agree with the insular, prejudist and jaundist opinions of the author of the History of the Norman Conquest); influence of Anglo-French on modern English; fonology; inflections; vocabulary and syntax. An idea of the vocabulary of the Oak Book can be obtained from the statement that it covers sixty-six pages. Professor Studer merits the thanks of scholars of French and English, history, laws, customs and literature for his careful and patriotic labors.

R. W.

## NOTES AND NEWS

Associat Professor Murray P. Brush of the Johns Hopkins University has been made collegiat professor of French, and Associat Professor Adolphe Terracher of the same university, professor of French literature.

Professor Lewis Piaget Shanks, of the University of Tennessee, has been appointed professor of Romance Languages at the University of Pennsylvania.

Professor Glen Levin Swiggett, late of the University of the South, has been appointed professor of Romance languages at the University of Tennessee.

Professor Robert Longley Taylor, late of Dartmouth College, has been appointed professor of Romance languages at Williams College.

Mr. Ernest R. Greene has resignd his position at Tufts College to accept an assistant professorship at Dartmouth College.

Professor John Glanville Gill has resignd his chair at Trinity College, Hartford, and has been succeeded by Professor George B. Viles, late of the University of North Carolina.

According to the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1910, 9.90 per cent. of the pupils in the public schools of the United States study French, as compared with 5.84 per cent. in 1890. For privat schools, the per cent. was 28.67 in 1910, as compared with 17.03 in 1890.

The eagerly awaited Concordanza delle Rime di Francesco Petrarca, by our colleag, Professor Kenneth McKenzie, has just appeard at the Oxford University Press and at the Yale Press.

There has recently been organized at the Sorbonne in Paris an Association des élèves et anciens élèves de l'École pratique des Hautes Etudes (Section des Sciences historiques et philologiques).

Cette Association se propose de contribuer à maintenir le caractère et les traditions à l'École: inscription gratuite dans condition d'âge, de grades, ou de nationalité; accès facile, et aussi direct que possible, aux livres de la Bibliothèque; intimité entre les directeurs d'études et les élèves, et entre les représentants des différentes disciplines.

Ainsi son intérêt se confond avec celui de l'Ecole: c'est au service de l'Ecole que ses ressources seront employées; elle constitue dès à présent un fonds de livres qui seront remis à la Bibliothèque de l'Université pour être déposés dans les salles de travail. Elle compte en outre apporter un appui matériel et moral aux élèves et anciens élèves de la section dans la préparation de leurs travaux.

Activ membership is limited (in addition to actual students) to former members who have received the title of *tlève titulaire* or, exceptionally, to former members non titulaires who are credited with two successiv years of attendance. Annual dues are 10 francs; life-membership, 200 francs. The President of the Administrativ Council is M. L. Barren-Dihigo. Communications may be adrest to M. Leandri, à la Sorbonne.

## ERRATA TO ARTICLE, THE SOURCES OF JUAN DE MENA, VOL. III, P. 223 SS. OF THIS REVIEW.

Note.—In order not to consume too much space and not to trouble the reader needlessly, I have refrained from correcting a number of slight mistakes in spelling, orthographic signs, punctuation, and the like; and except in two or three instances where the sense is distorted, I have not made those alterations in the diction, which, I trust, would have suggested themselves to me, had I been permitted to read the proof.\*

C. R. Post.

- p. 226, n. 9. Insert before p. 134 the words, vol. II.

  Add to the note, Roman de la Rose, vv. 5558 ff.
  - n. 10. Insert before the quotation, vv. 8789-8793.
  - n. 11. Add, vv. 1952 ff.
- p. 228, 1. 12. For his read hir.
  - 1. 19. For agane read agane.
  - n. 18. For 1884 read second edition, 1911.
- p. 229, 1. I. For Frederico read Federigo.
  - n. 23. Read, vol. 5, p. clxxii.
- p. 230, 1. 7. For mention of chance read mansion of Chance.
- p. 231, 1. 5. Read la Cumea.
- p. 233, 1. 10. Read rispitto.
- p. 234, 1. 23. Read Aristotiles.
  - n. 42. For 108 read 107.
  - n. 44. For 35 read 249.
- p. 235, 1. 26. For augustique read angustique.
  - 1. 28. For tumultae read tumultu.
- p. 236, 1. 8. For mon read non.
- p. 238, 1. 2. For ei read ci.
- p. 239, 1. 20. For each mi read me.
  - n. 62. For more than one read a.
- p. 243, n. 82. For 100, 101 read 85-87.
- p. 244, l. 6. Corresponding to the numeral 82, add the note, Coplas 100-101.
- p. 245, n. 89. For CLXXI read CLXXII.
- For pp. 1089 read pp. 108-109. p. 246, n. 94. For 99 read 109.
- p. 249, n. 104. For 3 read 4.

<sup>\*</sup> The proofs of Professor Post's article, together with the manuscript, were sent to him at Cambridge, but, thru some oversight, were not forwarded to him from there. His corrections were awaited until the last moment, when it was necessary to go to print. The Editors, having parted with the manuscript, were in many cases unable to revise the proofs with accuracy.

p. 250, n. 111. For 43 read 255.

n. 112. For 14 read 233.

n. 113. For CXCII read CXCIX.

p. 253, 1. 13. For mind read currents.

n. 122. Read 26.

p. 256, 1. 7. Read incertus.

1. 9. Read vientos.

1. 14. Read variae pelagi.

p. 258, n. 155. Read pp. 180 ff.

p. 258, n. 155. Read pp. 180 ft.
p. 259, l. 11. For copies read coplas.
n. 157. For 19-20 read 1920.
n. 159. Insert before p. 31 the words vol. III.
n. 161. For p. 37, n. 3 read p. 250, n. 115.
p. 261, l. 8. Read conatur.

n. 164. Add 268.

n. 165. Add before Comentum the words vol. I, and before Dantis the word super.

p. 262, 1. 27. Read denuncian and muestran.

p. 264, l. 24. Transpose varied to the place before types.

p. 265, l. 11. Substitute for the rest of the sentence after which: with the exaggeration of all imitators, he here elaborates to an appalling intricacy and extent.

1. 18. For Dian; read Diana.

n. 174. Add at the beginning, Comment to copla XXXVII.

p. 266, n. 175. Remove the semicolon after Corbaccio, and substitute one for the comma after Spain).

p. 267, n. 181. Omit and 741.

p. 268, n. 183. For p. 50, n. 3 read p. 260, n. 163.

n. 185. For I read III.

p. 270, n. 194. For p. 84 read p. 40.

p. 271, 1. 27. Read soñolienta.

n. 197. Read pp. 58-68.

The long quotation in the middle of the page should appear in n. 203.

p. 278, l. 3. Read had for has.

Erratum to Article on Spanish and Portuguese orate, Vol. III, P. 310 SS. of this Review.

p. 311, l. 12. Read orat, 'fool'.

## C51 0E2E P 2E32

0E2E P 2E32